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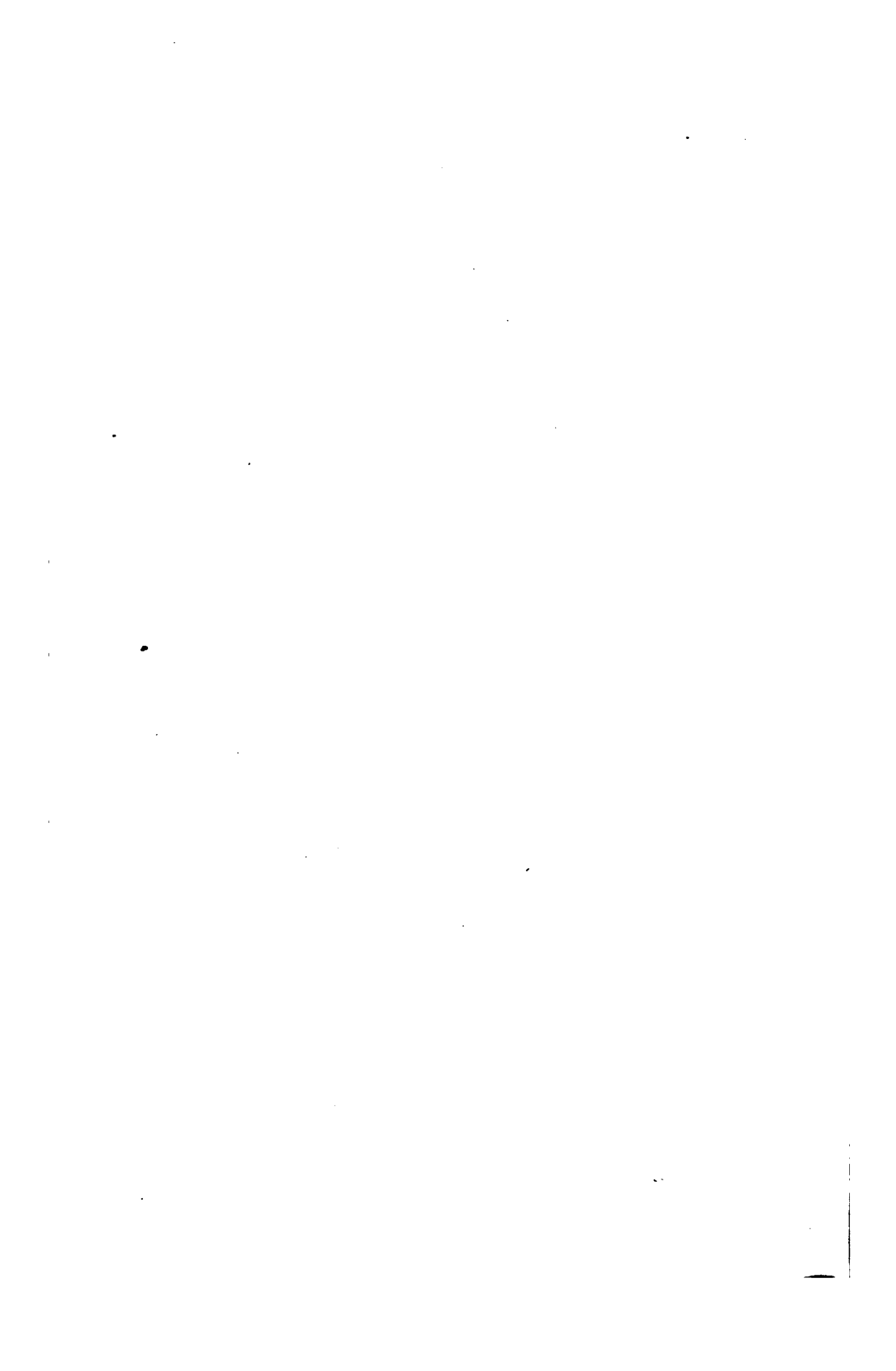
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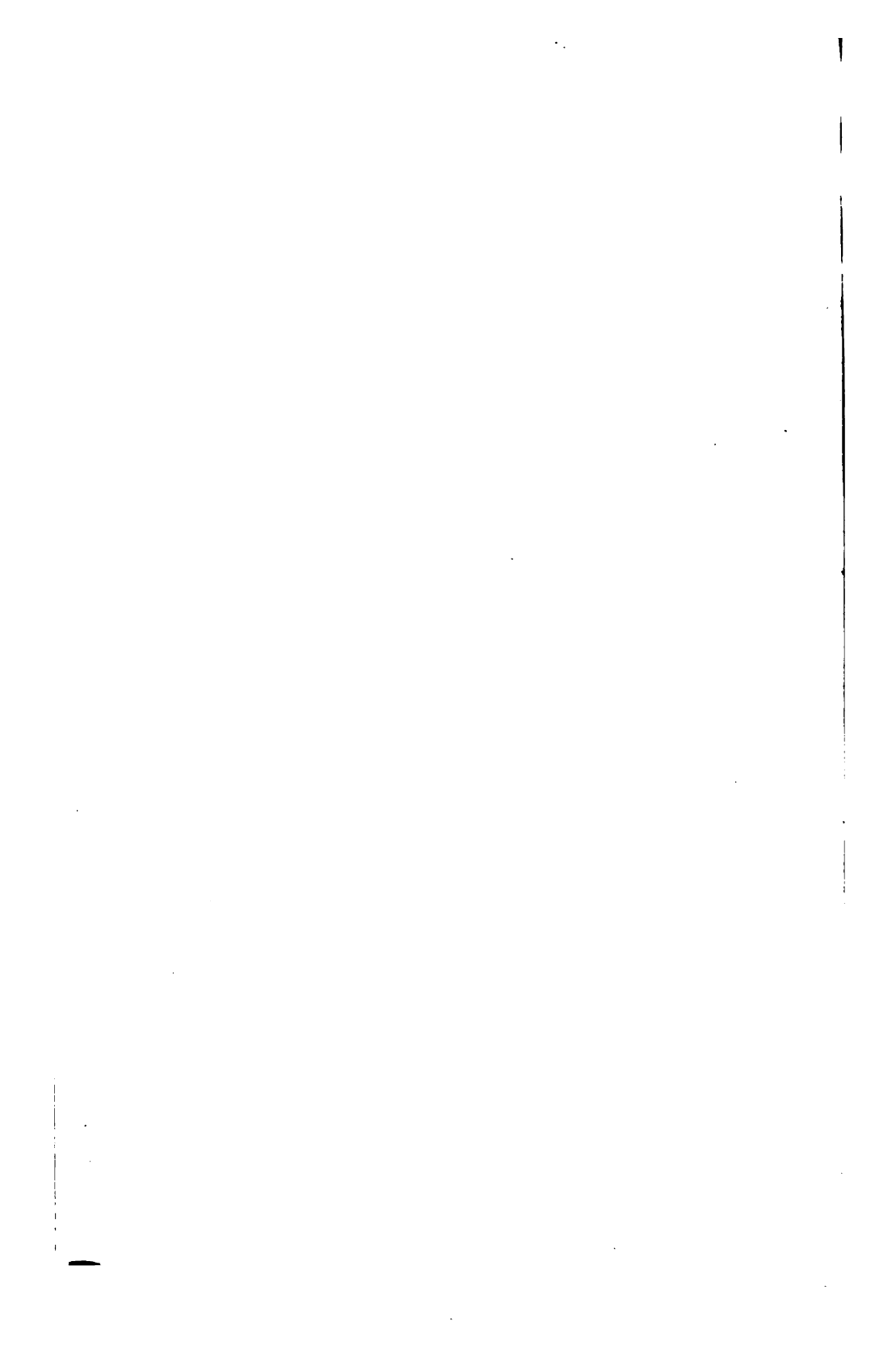
Prof. J. Earle in disposal  
of the remnants of  
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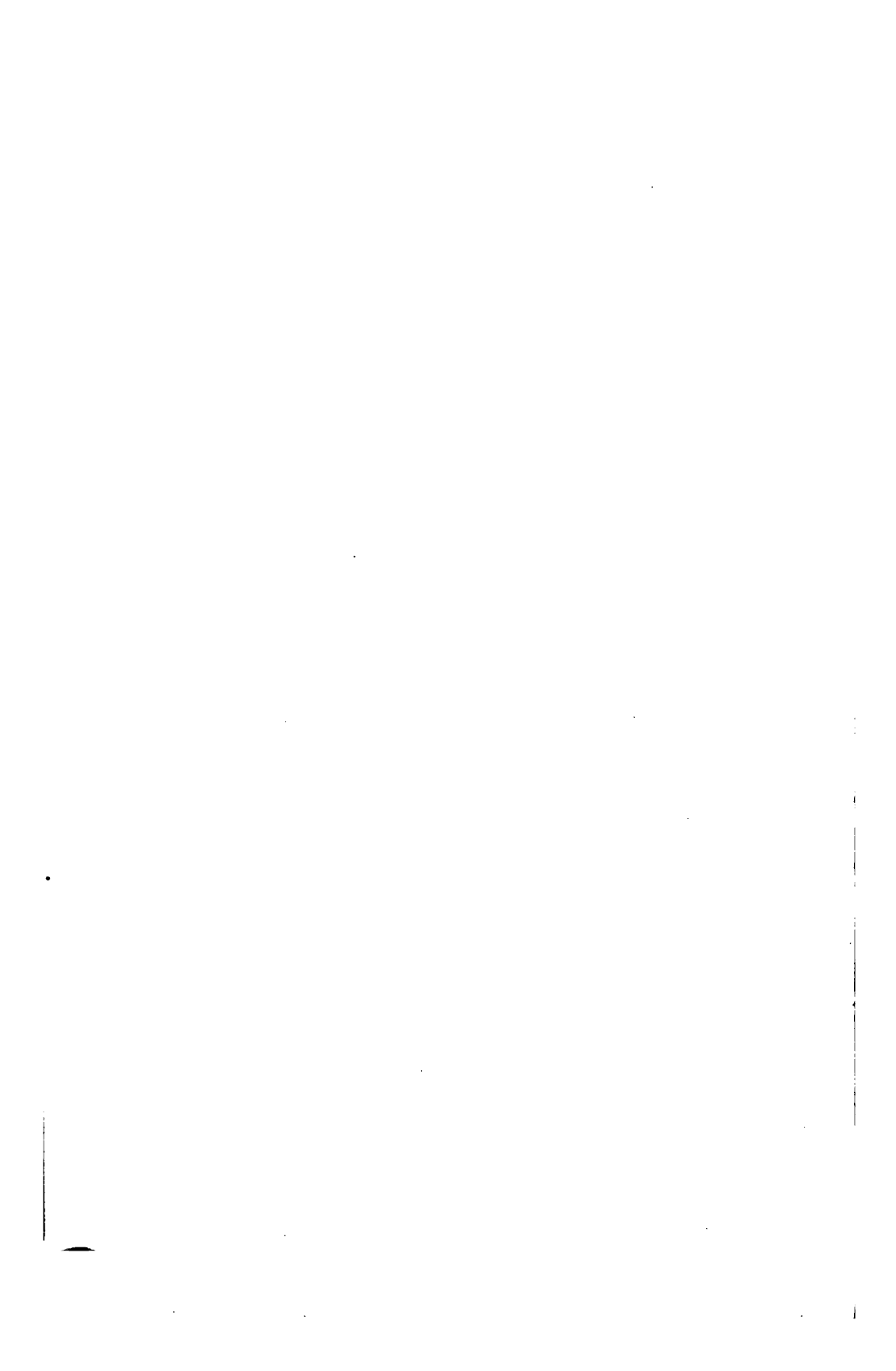
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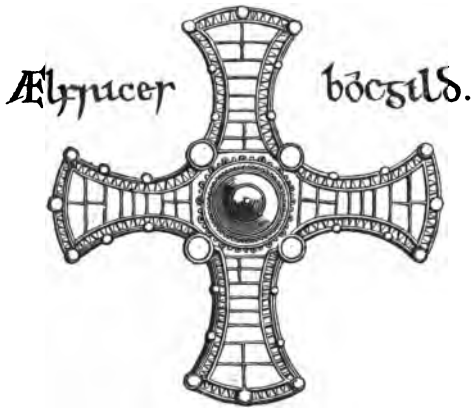
THE POETRY  
OF THE  
CODEX VERCELLENIS,

WITH AN  
ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

BY

J. M. KEMBLE, M.A.

*Part I.  
The Poem of the Wanderer*



LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR THE ÆLFRIC SOCIETY.

MDCCCXLIII.



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## PREFACE.

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IN the year 1832 a German man of letters, Dr. Blum, in the course of his inquiries into the contents of the Italian libraries, discovered at Vercelli, in the Milanese, a thick volume of Anglosaxon homilies. The interest which this very unexpected piece of good fortune excited both in England and Germany, was soon increased to the very utmost by the announcement that the Manuscript contained, in addition to and interspersed with the homilies, a collection of sacred poems, hitherto unknown and of great beauty. In the hope of bringing these valuable remains to England, and publishing them here, I set out in the summer of 1834 for Vercelli; but having spent some months in traversing Germany, I found myself, at the commencement of winter, still on this side the Alps, and cut off from all hope of crossing them by the storms which had broken up the passes. On returning to England, however, I found that one portion of my plan was already executed. The then existing Record Commission had employed Dr. Blum to copy the Manuscript, and had caused the poems to be extracted and printed under the care of Mr. Thorpe. Circumstances prevented the publication of the book, but a few copies of it found their way into the hands of persons interested in the subject, both here and in Germany. One of them had been placed at my disposal (through the courtesy of Mr. Cooper), and had furnished important aid during the preparation of the second volume of *Beowulf*; but in general the contents remained inaccessible

and unknown. In 1840 James Grimm, feeling that this was a wrong done to the world of letters at large, and apparently under a mistake respecting the number of copies printed by the Commission, and their intention of ultimately publishing their book, extracted from Dr. Lappenberg's copy the two longest poems, which he published at Cassell under the title of "Andreas und Elene," together with an introduction and very copious notes. It would not be fair to institute a comparison between two works composed with very different aims, or to make Thorpe responsible for the meagre form in which his appeared. It was intended as an Appendix, or rather as part of an Appendix, to another and very different composition, and was consequently compressed into the smallest possible space, without introduction, translation or notes of any description. On the other hand, Grimm's edition, expressly intended to supply a want which was loudly complained of in Germany, was executed with all the skill and care that might have been anticipated from the eminent qualifications of its amiable editor, and forms at this moment one of the most valuable monuments for the student of our ancient tongue.

It may be asked, what is then the necessity for a third edition of these poems? The answer is plain: Thorpe's edition is not to be obtained at all, and, even were it accessible, consists of a mere text, without the slightest attempt to assist the reader. Grimm's book contains only a portion of the Vercelli poems, and, did it even contain the whole, would still be inaccessible to those who could not read the German, in which the notes and introduction are written. Neither editor has thought it necessary to give a translation of the text. In commencing a series of publications which, it is to be hoped, will give to the world of scholars every yet inedited remain of Anglosaxon, the Ælfric Society could not close their eyes to the paramount importance of these poems; and knowing that my attention had been long be-

stowed upon them, the Council requested me to prepare them for the press, with a literal translation and such other appliances as might seem requisite for their full comprehension and general utility. This I have now done to the best of my ability, making use, wherever I saw occasion, of the labours of my two learned friends and predecessors.

The poems found in the Vercelli Codex are six in number. The first and longest of them may be called "A Legend of St. Andrew;" it contains 3444 lines, or 1722 according to the German custom of printing each separate couplet as a single line. As the object of the present remarks is general, and applies to the whole collection, I shall now content myself with naming the remaining pieces in the volume, reserving the details till I come to the consideration of the separate poems, each by and for itself. The second may be named "The Fates of the XII. Apostols;" it occupies 190 lines. The third is named "The departed Soul's address to the Body;" it comprises 320 lines, and is found with some variations in the Codex Exoniensis. The fourth is a religious fragment of 92 lines: the fifth is "A Dream of the Holy Rood," and contains 310 lines. The sixth and last, called by Grimm "Elene," and by Thorpe "The invention of the Cross," extends to 2648 lines.

The dialect in which the poems are composed is that which is known as the Westsaxon, and which, from the period of the establishment of Wessex in possession of the supreme power in England, became the language of literature, the court and the pulpit. In this the works attributed to Alfred are written; we find it in Beowulf and Cædmon, and it still survives in the homilies of Archbishop Ælfric. The Vercelli poems present no noticeable deviation from the general form, nor does their language supply any data that can be relied on to settle either the time or the locality to which we owe them. There is, however, one passage which contains matter for consideration, and may possibly one day lead us to a con-

*V. ed. 7. 1. c.  
of the Rood  
of Cross. ed.  
of the Rood  
of the Rood  
of the Rood  
of the Rood  
of the Rood  
of the Rood*

clusion on both these points. Towards the close of the poem of "Elene" the author deserts the epic narrative which he has so long pursued, and runs off into a train of lyrical reflections, having himself and his fortunes for their subject. In the course of these lines occur certain runic characters, which when taken together compose the name *Cynewulf*, which recurs more than once in the Exeter Book under precisely similar circumstances. There cannot be a doubt that this Cynewulf was the author of the poem of Elene, probably of all the rest, and those likewise which occur in the other collection, and it becomes a matter of much interest to decide who he was. Unhappily this is not an easy task: the name itself is extremely common, and, without any evidence leading us to fix upon any particular individual, it would perhaps be hardly justifiable to select as our author some dignified ecclesiastic merely because he bore that name. James Grimm, who seems to me to attribute too great an antiquity to the poems in their present form, hints that there was a bishop of Lindisfarn named Cynewulf who died in A.D. 780; but that bishop could neither have written nor read one word of the poems we possess, which would to him have been nearly as unintelligible as new German to an Englishman. No doubt these *may* be only translations from an earlier Northumbrian version, but this hypothesis has no basis whatever save the name Cynewulf, and that has been shown to be totally inadequate. Still less ground is there for another supposition of Grimm's, that Aldhelm (who died in 705) may have been their author, and which appears to me to rest upon nothing more than the fact that Aldhelm was a poet; for the philological ground, viz. that the author at one period addresses two persons (using the dual *git* vos duo), will certainly not show that Aldhelm was that author, even if we admit—which I do not—that *git* in this passage is the dual pronoun in question. There was however a Cynewulf who may possibly have a better claim to the honour: he was an abbat of Peter-

borough or Medehamstede, in which capacity he is mentioned with praise by Hugo Candidus, the historian of that abbey, as a man of extensive and various learning, and of great reputation among his contemporaries. He died in 1014, and, according to my view, is more likely to have composed these poems than an earlier author.

For, from internal evidence, it seems to me that the Vercelli poems are not referable to the old and purely epic period. There occurs from time to time something of the poet's own personality, and there is also a more lavish use of ornaments than was required in the truly national epos. To this, probably, similes were originally unknown, being replaced by metaphors: *Beówulf* has but two, and the much later *Nibelunge Nót* but two or three: in the Vercelli poems there are several, and one or two which have a smack of abstraction about them strongly indicative of an advanced (and corrupt) state of civilization. A fresh and lively nature, which does not analyse the processes of thought, but trusts itself and its own feeling, can venture, for example, to call a ship a "sea-bird" without checking itself, and saying that "it goes along *like* a sea-bird." Grium's opinion respecting the antiquity of our poems rests apparently upon the old epic words and phrases which abound in them beyond the common measure, and render them so extremely valuable to the Teutonic scholar. But this seems an insufficient ground for the assumption; since it is probable that these peculiarities belong to the poetical language of the Anglosaxons in contradistinction to their prose, and were kept up by tradition among their scôpas or poets. To this is owing the retention, even in Christian works, of modes of expression which must have had their origin in the heathen feeling, and which, in order to fit them for their new application, are gradually softened down and gain less personal and more abstract significations. The language of poetry is as distinct from that of prose among the Anglosaxons as any two different dialects, and it is not

too much to say, that a scholar who might be well able to read the Gospels, the Homilies or the Chronicle, might not be able to construe ten consecutive lines of Beowulf or Cædmon. It is in fact in their poems that the stubborn nationality of our forefathers shows itself most thoroughly: their prose works are almost always literal translations, and even if original, are deeply imbued with tramontane feelings, derived from the models most in vogue. But the epic forms maintained themselves despite of the book-learning which was so overprized; and even translations became originals, from the all-pervading Teutonic spirit which was unconsciously preserved in the forms and phrases of heathen poetry. In the use of these, far more than in the alliterative measure, consists the poetical element, and, without these, the alliteration cannot save a saint's legend from assuming the guise of a dull homily, and being read as such in the churches.

It will well repay the pains to read Grimm's excellent remarks upon this class of words in the introduction to "Andreas und Elene;" he has collected together from all the Anglosaxon poems the principal expressions for the occurrences of warfare and seafaring, and the superstitious veneration for certain natural phænomena, such as day and night, sunrise, sunset, storms, dreams and death. He has himself shown the heathen character of these expressions, and the epic nature of others which continually occur in some of the poems. Into this long subject I will not now follow him, but earnestly recommend this and all his works to all who wish to study Anglosaxon in earnest; my business will be to embody in the glossarial notes to this volume the more important of his results, as the occasion arises to notice them, too proud and happy

Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos  
Deduxisse modos,

and caring very little for the repute of originality, if I can deserve the far more satisfactory praise of usefulness.



## THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW.

THIS is the first and longest of the Vercelli poems ; it describes the conversion of the heathen Mermedonians by the apostol whose name we have assigned to it, his call to that work while in Achaia, his martyrdom among the pagan cannibals, and his safe return after the completion of his mission. After the death of Christ the Apostols had divided the whole world among themselves, as scenes of missionary exertion. Matthew had visited the Mermedonians, a race of sorcerers and anthropophagi, who devoured every stranger that landed on their shores. The saint had, like all their victims, been cast into prison together with a multitude of men and women, who appear to belong to his company. According to their custom they had put out his eyes, and given him to drink a potion which reduces man to the level of the beasts, and causes him to feed on grass and hay like the cattle of the field. But from this fate his faith appears to have saved him : he prays to God that he may not lose the intellect by which he is enabled to glorify his Creator ; and he receives by a voice from heaven the gracious assurance that his prayer is heard, and that St. Andrew shall be sent to release him from his misery. To this saint a command is now delivered to set out for Mermedonia, which dangerous undertaking he at first attempts to decline ; but being rebuked by God, he manfully addresses himself to his journey with a number of selected comrades. At the sea-shore he sees a boat with three rowers, who being interrogated as to their country reply that they are from Mermedonia, whither they are about to return. Andrew requests a passage, which they are willing to give, on condition of payment. On hearing however that the saint and his companions have no gold and silver, and are servants of Jesus Christ, the strangers agree to take them gratuitously to Mermedonia. The three rowers are in fact Almighty God, and two of his angels. During the voyage Andrew is in-

duced to relate various events in the life of his master, for the instruction of the supposed steersman and the edification of his own comrades. One of these episodes is of importance to the history of the poem. According to St. Andrew, the Jews having demanded a sign of the Saviour and a proof of his divine descent, Jesus performed a great miracle to confound them. On the walls of the temple, to left and right, were carved two images of the Seraphim\*: these the Saviour caused to descend from their places, and endowed them with speech; he then sent them over the desert to the plain of Mamre, where Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were buried, commanding them to call the patriarchs from their graves, that they might bear witness to him. This is done, and the re-animated remains are not dismissed to their repose till they have testified that Jesus is indeed the Christ, the Son of the Living God.

A deep sleep falls upon St. Andrew and his comrades; during which they are laid upon the shore of Mermedonia, when it is first revealed to them who has been the guide of their journey. Invisible to all eyes, the saint advances to the prison where St. Matthew and his companions languish. On his arrival the guards fall down dead; sight is restored to the blind apostol, who departs with his whole company, praising God. The next day is the one on which, according to their custom, the cannibals assemble to slaughter and eat some of their captives; they find the prison open, the jailers dead and their prey escaped. Horror and despair seize upon them: they are reduced to the necessity of choosing a victim from among themselves by lot. The heavy doom falls upon an old man, a principal councillor among them, who to redeem his own life offers his young son for sacrifice. But this awakens the compassion of St. Andrew, who miraculously blunts the weapons that are directed against the youth, and rescues him from death. While the confusion and terror

\* Teraphim?

of the Mermedonians are at the highest, a fiend, watchful for opportunities to molest the servants of God, calls attention to the apostol, whom he denounces as the rescuer of St. Matthew and the cause of their present trouble. On this the saint is seized and imprisoned, and for several days grievously tormented by being dragged over the rough ways, till the flesh is torn from the bones: in his prison, devils revile and scoff him, but he defeats them by a steadfast faith, and drives them from him in confusion. At length his patience gives way under the intensity of torture; he remonstrates with God, praying for speedy death, and is told that his martyrdom is accomplished. He now calls a mighty flood, which sweeps away the most active of his tormentors. The rest, stricken with terror, are converted, instructed and baptized; and after remaining with them for a season, St. Andrew sets sail and returns to Achaia. Grimm was at once struck with the probability of this poem being founded upon some apocryphal gospel or legend current in the early church, and endeavoured to discover it. In this he was for a while unsuccessful: hints indeed and allusions to the story there were, but not such a detailed resemblance as would prove the recovery of the original work from which the poem was translated. Two of these passages are cited by Grimm, one from the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, the other from the *Pseudo-Abdias* (Fabricius, Cod. Apoc. N. T. p. 457); but I do not copy them, because, though they prove a knowledge of a story similar in its general outlines to our own, they show no acquaintance whatever with some of the most remarkable points of the legend: for example, they are silent as to the Mermedonians being cannibals, the personal convoy which the Almighty vouchsafes to his servant, the story of the statues and the raising of the patriarchs, and the mode by which the conversion of the heathen was effected. Farther inquiry was necessary, and on application to Thilo, the learned editor of the Cod. Apoc. N. T., the wished-for in-

formation was obtained. In the Royal Library at Paris are several MSS. containing the *Πράξεις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Μαθθαίου*, and two of these, Cod. Bibl. Reg. 808, fol. 348–359, and Cod. 1556, fol. 1–11, are cited from Thilo's unpublished collections. In these we find the details in question. Thus, the Mermedonians are cannibals: *κατὰ κλήρον οὖν ἔλαχε τὸν Ματθαῖον πορευθῆναι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων*. Again, it is God himself who steers the ship: *ὁ γὰρ κύριος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει καὶ ἰσχύϊ κατεσκεύασε πλοῖον, καὶ αὐτός ἦν ὡσπερ πρῶρεὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ ἐνέγκας δύο ἀγγέλους ἐμόρφωσεν αὐτούς*. The adventure of the statues is thus told: *Καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ ναοῦ ἶδε γλυφὰς (l. γλυπτὰς) σφίγγας δύο, μίαν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ μίαν ἐξ εὐωνύμων καὶ στραφεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἶπε· θεωρήσατε τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ· ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμοιά εἰσι τοῦ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τοῦ Σεραφὶμ, τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ. Τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας ἐκ δεξιῶν, οὗ ἦν ἡ σφίγγξ, εἶπεν αὐτῇ· σοὶ λέγω, τὸ ἐκτύπωμα τὸ (l. τοῦ) ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὃ ἐγλυψαν τεχνιτῶν χεῖρες, ἀποκολλήθητι ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου σου, καὶ ἔλθῃ κάτω, καὶ ἀποκρίθητι, καὶ ἔλεξον τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὑπόδειξον αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐγὼ θεός εἰμι ἢ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ εὐθέως ἀνεπήδησεν ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ ἡ σφίγγξ, καὶ ἀναλαβούσα φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, εἶπεν. etc. etc.*

Now such coincidences as these are more than accidental, and I think they justify the conclusion that, mediately or immediately, the *πράξεις Ἀνδρέου* are the original of our *Anglosaxon* poem. Perhaps it is more consonant with probability that a literal Latin translation should have supplied the *Anglosaxon* monk with his materials, than that he should have been competent to adapt a Greek legend. In the North of England, at an early period, some knowledge of Greek seems to have been found, and the companions of Theodor of Tarsus may have left scholars in the cloisters south of the Humber: but with the close of the eighth, or beginning of the ninth century, the last traces of this knowledge perished away in England, nor was even a word of Greek intelligible in the

eleventh, save perhaps here and there a title or an epithet borrowed from the pompous pedantry of Byzantium. From the time of Lucius Charinus (the Manichean of the sixth century, to whom Thilo attributes the original legend) till that of Cynewulf, Abbat of Peterborough, nearly five centuries elapsed; and a work so well known as the *Περίοδοι* could hardly fail to find translators in the West. I feel little hesitation in avowing my belief that this was the case, rather than in supposing a Northumbrian or early Southern (Kentish for instance) version to have been directly made from the Greek, and this again retranslated into Westsaxon at the end of the tenth century.

This is not the only instance of similar processes: "Salomon and Saturn" appears to have arisen in the same manner; and so in all probability did "Elene," the most valuable of the poems contained in this volume. The service which Pope Gelasius (A.D. 492-496) did the church, by eliminating a multitude of apocryphal Gospels from the Canon, may have been somewhat diminished by his recognition of them as works tending to edification; but the student of our national antiquities will acknowledge with gratitude, that to such modified recognition we owe the preservation of many monuments of thought and language which would otherwise have been sought in vain. It is true that they are of little interest in their Latin or Greek forms, except inasfar as they may have influenced the universal mind of Europe at the commencement of our modern civilization: in the early German translations, however, they have remained to supply the most important materials for the history of the thoughts, feelings and mind of the Teutonic races. For, partly, through the strong nationality of the Anglosaxons, partly through the existence of a peculiar language, devoted to a particular use, the classical original becomes an equally original Germanic poem, in all but the subject; and having so become, bears in very many of its details the strong impress of early and even

heathen tradition. Devoted only to the elucidation of heathen themes, their heathen element would have been compelled to an unequal struggle with the power of the Christian priesthood, in which it must ultimately have succumbed : but once saved from this fate, adopted, and as it were Christianized by the priesthood itself, it became the surest guarantee of the national development, helping to ensure the failure of every attempt to introduce the elements of a foreign civilization, or the usurpation of a foreign authority in matters of civil or ecclesiastical polity.

## THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW.

HWÆT we gefrunon  
on fyrndagum  
twelfe under tunglum  
tīreádige hǣleð,  
þeódnes þegnas :  
nó hira þrym áǣg,  
camprádenne,  
þonne cumbol hneoton ;  
siððan hie gedældon,  
swá him dryhten sylf,  
heofona heáhcýning,  
hlyt getæhte.  
þæt wæron mære  
men ofer eorðan,  
frome folctogan,  
and fyrdhwate,  
rófe rincas,  
þonne rond and hand  
on herefelda  
helm ealgodon,  
on meotdwange.  
Wæs hira Matheus sum,  
se mid Iudéum ongan  
godspell ærest  
wordum wriþan,

VERC.

LO! We have learned  
in days of yore  
of twelve beneath the stars  
heroes gloriously blessed,  
5 servants of the Lord :  
their glory failed not,  
of their warfare,  
when ensigns clashed ; [tion,  
after they had made distribu-  
10 as God himself to them,  
high king of heaven,  
had a lot assigned.  
Those were famous  
men throughout the earth,  
15 pious leaders,  
and bold in warfare,  
celebrated warriors,  
when shield and hand  
on the battle-field  
20 the helmet guarded,  
on the fatal plain.  
Matthew was one of them,  
who amongst the Jews began  
the gospel first  
25 in words to write,

B

wundorcræfte.		with miraculous power.
þam hālig god		To him holy God
hlyt geteóde		assigned a lot
út on þæt igland,		out on that island,
þær ænig þa git	30	where yet not any one
ellþeódigra		of strangers
éðles ne mihte		might a home
blædes brúcan.		or prosperity enjoy. [terers
Oft him bonena hand		Oft had the hand of slaugh-
on herefelda	35	on the battle-field
hearde gesceód.		hardly decided for him.
Eal wæs þæt nearcland		That border-land was all
morðre bewunden,		wound round with slaughter,
feóndes fæcne,		with the treachery of the foe,
folcstede gumena,	40	the metropolis of men,
hæleða éðel.		the dwelling of heroes.
Næs þær hláfes wist		There was no supply of bread
werum on þam wonge,		for men in that country,
né wæteres drync		nor drink of water
tô brúcanne.	45	to enjoy.
Ah hie blôd and fel,		But they the blood and skin,
fira flæschoman		the flesh of men
feorran cumenra,		comers from afar,
þêgon geond þa þeóde :		partook of among the people :
swelc wæs þeáw hira,	50	such was their custom
þæt hie æghwylcne		that they every one
ellþeódigra		of strangers
dydon him tô mōse		made to them for food,
meteþearfendum,		wanting meat,
þara þe þæt eáland	55	of those who that island
útan sóhte.		visited from without.
Swylc wæs þæs folces		Such was the people's
freoðoleás tácen,		peaceless token,
unlædra eafóð,		the suffering of the wretched,
þæt hie eágena gesihð,	60	that they the eye-sight,



hettend heorgrimme,  
héafodgimme

ágotun gealgmóde  
gára ordum :

siððan him geblendon

bitere tósome

drýas þurh dwolcræft

drync unbeórne,

se onwende gewit,

wera ingeþanc

heortan hrêðre ;

hyge wæs oncyrrred

þæt hie ne murndon

æfter mandréame,

hæleð heorogrædige,

ac hie hīg and gærs,

for meteleáste

mêðe, gedrêhte.

þá wæs Matheus

tó þære mæran byrig

cumen, in þá ceastre.

þær wæs cirm micel

geond Mermedonia,

mánfulra hlôð,

fordénera gedræg,

siððan deóflæs þegn

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\* \* geáscodon,

æðelinges stð.

Eódon him þá tógènes

gárum gehyrsted

lungre under linde,

nalæs late wæron

sword-grim enemies,

the gem of the head

gallows-minded poured out

with javelin points :

65 afterwards mixed for them

bitter together

these wizards through magic

a fatal drink,

which turned away the wit,

70 the intellect of men,

the heart within the breast ;

the mind was turned

so that they cared not

for the joys of human life,

75 the men fatally greedy,

but them hay and grass,

for want of food

weary, oppressed.

Then was Matthew

80 to the famous burgh

come, to the city.

There was much outcry

throughout Mermedonia,

the sinful tribe,

85 a tumult of undone men,

since the devil's servant

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\* \* \*

\* \* learnt

the noble's journey.

Towards him they went

90 with javelins adorned

swiftly under linden-shield,

not slow were

eorre æscherend		the fierce spear-bearers
to þām orlege.		to the onset.
Hie þām hālgan þær	95	They for the holy one there
handa gebundon		his hands bound,
and fæstnodon		and fastened them
feōndes cræfte,		with hostile craft,
hæleð hellfūse,		men hell-prone,
and his heáfdes segl	100	and the gem of his head
ābruton mid billes ecge.		broke with the bill's edge.
Hwæðre he in breóstum þā git		Nevertheless he still in his
herede in heortan		in his heart honored [breast
heofonríces weard,		the ward of heaven's kingdom,
þeáh þe he átres drync	105	though he the drink of poison
atulne onfēnge ;		the terrible had tasted ;
eádig and ánmód		blessed and steadfast
he mid elne forð		he courageously continued
wyrðode wordum		to glorify with his words
wuldres aldor,	110	the prince of glory,
heofonríces weard,		the ward of heaven's kingdom,
hālgan stefne		with holy voice,
of carcerne.		from out his prison.
Him wæs Cristes lof		To him was Christ's praise
on fyrhðlocan	115	within his breast
fæste bewunden ;		steadfastly wound about ;
he þā wēpende		he then weeping
wéregum tearum,		with weary tears,
his sigedryhten		his victorious Lord
sárgan reorde	120	with sorrowful speech
gréttē, gumena brego,		addressed, the prince of men,
geómran stefne		with mournful voice
weoruda wilgeofan,		the benefactor of hosts,
and þus wordum cwæð :		and thus in words <i>he</i> spake :
Hú me elpeódigē	125	“ How for me <i>these</i> strangers
inwitwrasne,		a chain of mischief,
searonet, seowað.		a net of snares, are sewing !

<p> á ic simles wæs  on wega gehwám,  willan þines  georn on móde ;  nú þurh geohða sceal  dæda fremman  swá þá dumban neát.  Þú ana canst  ealra gehygdo,  meotud mancynnes  mód in hréðre.  Gif þín willa sie,  wuldres aldor,  þæt me wærlogan  wæpna ecgum,  sweordum áswebban,  ic beó sóna gearu  tô ádreóganne  þæt þú, dryhten mîn,  engla eádgifa,  éðelleásum,  dugeða dædfruma,  dêman wille.  Forgif me tô áre,  æلميhtig god,  leóht on þissum lífe ;  þý læs ic lungre scyle,  áblended in burgum,  æfter billhete,  þurh hearmcwide  heorugrædigra,  láðra leódsceaðena,  leng þrówian  edwitspræce.  Ic tô ánum þe </p>	<p> I was evermore  in every way,  of thy will  desirous in my mind ;  now with sorrow must I  deeds do  such as the dumb cattle.  Thou alone knowest  the thoughts of all men,  thou Lord of mankind,  the mind within the breast.  If it be thy will,  Prince of glory,  that me the perfidious men  with edge of weapons,  with swords shall set to sleep,  I shall be soon ready  to endure  whatsoever thou, my Lord,  bliss-giver of angels,  to me an exile,  thou origin of virtuous deeds,  art willing to adjudge.  Grant me as a boon,  Almighty God,  light in this life ;  lest I shall forthwith, [ings,  blinded as I am in these dwell-  after the hate of swords,  through the abuse  of savage greedy men,  of hostile malefactors,  longer suffer  contemptuous speech.  I to thee only, </p>
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middangeardes weard,		Guardian of the world,
môd staðolige,		keep my mind firmly fixed,
fæste fyrhðolufan :	165	the steadfast love of my soul :
and þe, fæder engla,		and thee, Father of angels,
beorht blædgifa,		bright giver of prosperity,
biddan wille		will pray
þæt þû me ne gescyrige		that thou appoint me not
mid scyldhetum,	170	among these guilty ones,
wérigum wróhtsmiðum,		these base artificers of crime,
on þone wyrrestan,		the worst,—
dugoða dêmend,		Ruler of dignities !—
deáð ofer eorðan.		death on the earth.”
Æfter þyssum wordum com		After these words came
wuldres tácen		a token of glory
hálig of heofenum,		holy from heaven,
swylce hádre sægl,		like a serene star,
tô þám carcerne.		to the prison.
þær gecýðed wearð	180	There was manifested
þæt hálig god		that Holy God
helpe gefremede.		gave help.
Ðá wearð gehýred		Then was heard
heofoncyninges stefn		the voice of heaven’s king
wrætlic under wolcnum,	185	wondrous under the welkin,
wordhleóðres swég		the sound of the oracular word
mæres þeódnæs ;		of the great King ;
he his maguþegne,		he to his servant,
under hearmlocan,		in the bonds of evil,
hælo and frófre	190	safety and comfort
beadurófum ábeád,		to the bold in war did offer,
beorhtan stefne :		with a clear voice :
Ic þe, Matheus,		“ I to thee, Matthew,
míne sylle		grant my [not thou
sibbe under swegle. Ne beó þû		peace under the firmament. Be
on sefan tô forht,		too fearful in mind,
né on móde ne murn.		nor mourn in mind.

<p>Ic þe mid wunige and þe álýse of þyssum leoðubendum, and ealle þa menigo þe þe mid wuniað on nearonédum. þe is neorxna wang, blæda beorhtôst, boldwela fægrôst, háma hyhtlicôst, hálegum mihtum torht ontýned ; þær þú tíres môst, tô wídan feore, willan brúcan. Gepola þeóða þreá ; nis seó þrah micel, þæt þe wærlogan witebendum, synne þurh searocræft swencan móton. Ic þe Andreas ædre onsende tô hleó and tô hróðre, in þás hæðenan burg : he þe álýseð of þisum leoðhete : is tô þære tíde tælmet hwíle, emne mid sóðe seofon and twentig nihtgerímes, þæt þú of néde môst, sorgum geswenced, sigore gewyrðod,</p>	<p>200</p> <p>205</p> <p>210</p> <p>215</p> <p>220</p> <p>225</p> <p>230</p>	<p>I will dwell with thee and release thee from these limb-bonds, and all the multitude that abideth with thee in strait need. To thee is Paradise, brightest of glories, fairest of dwellings, pleasantest of homes, by holy powers brightly opened ; where thou glory mayest, to all eternity, at will enjoy. [people ; Endure the oppression of this the period is not long, that for thee the perfidious ones with bonds of punishment, sinfully through insidious craft may afflict. I to thee, Andrew, will speedily send for protection and comfort, into this heathen city : he will release thee from this vast hatred : up to that time is a calculable interval, even in sooth seven and twenty nights by number, when thou shalt from this need, afflicted with sorrows, glorified with victory,</p>
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hweorfest of henðum in gehyld godes.		thou shalt go from miseries into God's grace."
Gewát him þá se hálga	235	Departed then the holy
helm ælwihta,		protector of all beings,
engla scippend,		creator of angels,
tô þám uplican		to the supernal
êðelríce,		realm,
he is on riht cyning,	240	He is justly King,
staðolfæst stýrend		a firm ruler
in stowa gehwám.		in every place !
Ðá wæs Matheus		Then was Matthew
miclum onbryrded		much moved
niwan stefne ;	245	by the new summons ;
nihthelm tóglád,		the night-helm glode away,
lungre leorde,		rapidly it departed,
leóht æfter com,		light came after,
dægrêdwóma.		the rushing noise of dawn.
Duguð samnade,	250	The powerful collected,
hêðne hildfreca,		heathens battle-savage,
heápum þrungon :		in heaps they thronged :
gúðsearo gullon,		their war-trappings sung,
gáras hrysedon		they brandished their javelins
bolgenmóde	255	angry of mood
under bordhreóðan.		under the wall of shields.
Woldon cunnian		They would prove
hwæðer cwise lifdon		whether yet quick lived
þa þe on carcerne		those who in prison
clommum fæste	260	fast in bonds,
hleóleásan wíc		a comfortless dwelling
hwíle wunedon ;		awhile had occupied ;
hwylcne hie tô ête		which of them they for food
êrest mihton		might first
æfter firstmearce	265	after the appointed interval
feores berædan ?		deprive of life ?
Hæfdon hie on rúne		They had in rune

<p>and on rīmcraefte          āwriten, wælgrædige,          wera endestæf :          hwænne hie tō mōse          meteþearfendum          on þære werþeode          weorðan sceoldon ;          cirmdon caldheorte,          corder oðrum getang,          rēðe ræsboran ;          rihtes ne gýmdon          meotudes mildse ;          oft hira mōd onwōd          under dimscūan          deōfles larum,          þonne hie unlædra          eafeðum gelyfdon.          Hie þa gemetton          mōdes gleáwne,          háligne hæle          under heólstorlocan          bīdan beadúrōfne          hwæs him beorht cyning,          engla ordfruma,          unnan wolde.          Ða wæs first ágán          frumrædenne,          þinggemearces,          bûtan þrim nihtum,          swá hit wælwulfas          āwriten hæfdon,          þæt hie bānhringas          ābreacan þohton,          lungre tólýsan          lic and sawle</p>	<p>270</p> <p>275</p> <p>280</p> <p>285</p> <p>295</p> <p>300</p>	<p>and in rimecraft          written, greedy of slaughter,          the end of the men :          when they for food          to the hungry          in that tribe          should become ;          the coldhearted noisily shouted,          troop thronged on troop,          savage onset-bringers ;          for right they cared not          the mercy of the Lord ;          oft their mind went          under dim shadow          by the devil's lore,          when they of savage spirits          believed in the might.          They then found          the prudent of mind,          the holy man,          in his dark den          warlike-bold abiding [king,          whatsoever to him the bright          the prince of angels,          should grant.          Then was the space expired          of the predestined time,          the fixed period,          except three nights,          as it the wolves of slaughter          had written down,          that they the bone-rings          thought to break,          forthwith to divide          body and soul,</p>
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<p>and þonne tódælan  duguðe and geógoðe,  werum tó wiste  and tó wilþege,  fêges flêschoman.  Feorh ne bemurndon  grêdige gúðrincas,  hú þæs gâstes sifð  æfter swyltcwale  geseted wurde.  Swa hie simble ymb þritig  þing gehêgdon  nihtgerimes :  wæs him neóð micel,  þæt hie tóbrugdon  blódigum ceafum  fira flêschoman  him tó fóddorþege.  Þá wæs gemyndig  se þe middangeard  gestaðelode  strangum mihtum,  hú he in ellþéodigum  yrmðum wunade,  belocen leoðubendum,  þe of his lufan adreág  for Ebrêum  and Israhelum,  swylce he Judêa  galdorcraeftum  wiðstóð stranglice.  Þá sió stefn gewearð  gehêred of heofenum,  þær se halga wer  in Achæia</p>	<p>305</p> <p>310</p> <p>315</p> <p>320</p> <p>325</p> <p>330</p> <p>335</p>	<p>and then to distribute  to old and young,  to the men for food  and acceptable feast,  the flesh of the slain.  For the soul cared not  the greedy warriors,  how the spirit's journey  after death  might be appointed.  Thus they ever about thirty  nights by number  held their public meeting :  great was their need,  that they must touch  with bloody jaws  the flesh of men  for their food.  Then was mindful  He who the earth  established  by his strong might,  how he among strangers  miserably dwelt,  locked up in limb-bonds,  who for his sake had suffered  before Hebrews  and Israelites,  also of the Jews  the magical powers  had strongly withstood.  Then the voice was  heard out of heaven,  where the holy man  in Achæa</p>
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Andreas wæs.		Andrew was.
Leóde lærde		The people he instructed
on lifes weg.	340	in the way of life.
Þa him círe baldum		There to him royally bold
cýninga wuldor,		the glory of kings,
meotud mancynnes,		the lord of mankind,
módhord onleác,		unlocked the treasure of words,
weoruda dryhten	345	the Lord of hosts,
and þus wordum cwæð :		and thus in words he spake :
Ðú scealt féran		“ Thou shalt go
and frið lædan,		and bear my peace,
siðe gesécan		in journey seek
þær sylfætán	350	where the anthropophagi
eard weardigað,		defend the land,
éðel healdað		hold the possession
morðorcraeftum ;		by murderous power ;
swá is þære menigo þeáw,		such is the custom of that
		multitude,
þæt hie unctðra	355	that they of strangers
ængum ne willað		to no one will
on þám folcstede		in that country
feóres geunnan :		spare the life :
siððan mânfulle		when the guilty ones
on Mermedonia	360	in Mermedonia
onfindað feáscaftne,		find a wretch,
þær sceal feorhgedál,		then must life-parting,
earmlíc ylda cwealm,		miserable slaughter of men,
æfter wyrðan.		afterwards take place.
Þær ic seómian wát	365	There I know to languish
þinne sigebróðor		thy brother in glory
mid þám burgwarum		among the citizens
bendum fæstne :		fast in bonds :
nú bið fore þreo niht,		now is it three nights before,
þæt he on þære þeóde sceal	370	that he shall among that people
fore hæðenra		through the heathens'

handgewinne,		hand-warfare,	
þurh gâres gripe		through gripe of javelin	
gâst onsendan		send forth his spirit	
ellorfûsne,	375	ready to depart,	[earlier.]
bûtan þû âr cyme.		unless thou come thither	
Ædre him Andreas		At once to him Andrew	
âgef andsware :		returned answer :	
Hû mæg ic, dryhten mîn,		“ How may I, my Lord,	
ofer deóp gelâd	380	over the deep sea	
fôre gefremman		accomplish the journey	
on feorne weg		on so far a way	
swâ hrædlîce,		so speedily,	
heofona scippend,		creator of the heavens,	
wuldres waldend,	385	ruler of glory,	
swâ þû wordê becwîst ?		as thou in words sayest ?	
þæt mæg engel þîn		That may thine angel	
eáð gefêran,		more easily travel,	
of heofenum con him		from the heavens he knows	
holma begang,	390	the passages of the deeps,	
sealte sæstreámas		the salt sea-streams	
and swanráde,		and the swan's road,	
waroðfaruða gewinn		the contest of the sea-waves	
and wæterbrôgan,		and the terror of waters,	
wegas ofer wîd land.	395	ways over wide land.	
Ne sint me winas cûðe		To me are no known friends	
eorlas elþeódige		the strange men,	
nê þær æniges wât		nor do I in anything know	
hæleða gehygdo,		the disposition of the people,	
nê me herestrâta	400	nor are to me the high-roads	
ofer cald wæter		over the cold water	
cûðe sindon.		known.”	
Him þá ondswarude		Him then answered	
êce dryhten :		eternal God :	
Eála Andreas	405	“ Alas ! Andrew,	
þæt þû á woldest		that ever thou wouldst	

þæs siðfætes		to this journey
sæne weorðan !		be slow !
Nis þæt uneáðe		It is not difficult
ealwealdan Gode	410	for Almighty God
tô gefremmanne		to accomplish
on foldwege,		in this place,
þæt sió ceaster hider		that the city hither
on þás cneórisse		in this tribe
under swegles gang	415	beneath the sun's path
âseted wyrðe,		should be transported,
breogostól brême		the proud metropolis
mid þám burgwarum,		together with the burghers, [it
gif hit wordé becwið		if with a word should command
wuldres âgend.	420	the Lord of glory !
Ne meaht þú þæs siðfætes		Thou mayest not to this journey
sæne weorðan,		be slow,
nê on gewitte tô wác,		nor too weak in wit,
gif þú wel þencest		if thou desirest well
wið þinne wealdend	425	towards thy prince
wære gehealdan,		covenant to hold,
treówe tâcen.		true token !
Beó þú on tíð gearu :		Be thou at the time ready :
ne mæg þæs ârendes		of this errand there may
ylding wyrðan :	430	be no delay :
þú scealt þá fore gefêran,		thou shalt then set forward,
and þín feorh beran		and bear thy life
in gramra gripe ;		into the grasp of foes ;
þær þe gúðgewinn		where warlike contest to thee,
þurh hêðenra	435	through the heathens'
hildewóman,		battle rush,
beorna beaducræft,		the war-craft of heroes,
geboden wyrðeð.		shall be proclaimed.
Scealtu âninga		Thou shalt certainly
mid âerdæge,	440	at early dawn,
emne tô morgene,		even tomorrow,

æt meres ende,		at the sea's end,
ceól gestigan,		mount a ship,
and on cald wæter		and on the cold water
brecan ofer bæðweg.	445	break over the bathway.
Hafa bletsunge		Have my blessing
ofer middangeard		throughout the earth
mīne þær þú fere.		whithersoever thou go !”
Gewát him þá se hálga		Then departed the holy
healdend and wealdend,	450	upholder and wielder,
upengla fruma,		the prince of archangels,
ēðel sēcan,		to seek his home,
middangeardes weard,		the warder of earth,
þone mæran hām		the famous dwelling
þær sóðfæstra	455	where of the pious
sāwla mōton		the souls may
æfter līces hryre		after the body's fall
līfes brūcan.		enjoy life.
þā wæs ærende		Then was the errand
æðelum cempan	460	to the noble champion
āboden in burgum :		proclaimed in the town :
ne wæs him bléað hyge,		his mind was not slack,
ah he wæs ānræd		but he was steadfast
ellenweorces,		in his great work,
heard and hygeróf,	465	hard and noble-minded,
nalæs hildlata,		no skulker from battle,
gearo gūðe fram		ready for war, stout
tō Godes compe.		for God's battle.
Gewát him þā on uhtan,		He went then at dawn,
mid ærdæge,	470	with break of day,
ofer sandhleōþu		over the sand-hills
tō sæs faruðe,		to the sea-shore,
þrīste on geþance,		bold in thought,
and his þegnas mid,		and his thanes with him,
gangan on greóte.	475	going on the sand.
Gārsecg hlýnede		The ocean sounded

beóton brimstreámas :		the sea-streams dashed :
se beorn wæs on hyhte		the man was full of hope
siððan he on waruðe		after he on the strand
wiðfæðme scip	490	a wide-bosomed ship
módig gemétte.		courageous found.
þá com morgen torht,		Then came splendent morning,
beácna bearhtost,		brightest of beacons,
ofer breomo sneówan ;		hastening over the waves ;
hálig of heólstre	485	holy from out the darkness
heofoncandel blác		heaven's candle shone
ofer lagoflódas ;		over the lake-floods ;
he þær lidweardas		he there ship-keepers
þrymlíce þrý		glorious three
þegnas (gesceawode),	490	thanes beheld,
módiglice mēnn		courageous men
on merebáte		in the sea-boat
sittan siððfrome,		sitting bold to journey,
swylce hie ofer sæ comon :		even as they had come over sea :
þæt wæs dryhten sylf,	495	that was the Lord himself,
dugeða wealdend,		the prince of dignities,
éce ælmihtig		the eternal Almighty God
mid his englum twám.		with his two angels.
Wæron hie on gescirplan		They were in habit <i>like</i>
scipférendum,	500	unto seafarers,
eorlas onlice		the men like
eálférendum,		sailors over the wave, [flood
þonne hie on flódes fæðm		when they on the bosom of the
ofer feorne weg		far away
on cald wæter	505	on the cold water
ceólum lácað.		with ships play.
Hie þá gegrétte		Them then addressed
se þe on greóte stóð		he who on the strand stood
fús on faroðe,		ready on the beach,
frægn, reordade :	510	he inquired and said :
hwanon comon ge		“ Whence come ye

ceólum líðan,  
 mácræftige menn,  
 on mereþissan,  
 áne ægflotan ?  
 hwanon eágorstreám  
 ofer ýða gewealc  
 eówic brohte ?  
 Him þá andswarode  
 ælmihtig god,  
 swá þæt ne wiste,  
 se þæs wordes bád,  
 hwæt se manna wæs  
 meðelhégendra,  
 þa he þær on waroðe  
 wiðþingode :  
 We of Marmedonia  
 mægðe sindon  
 feorran gefèrede :  
 ús mid flóde bær  
 on hránråde  
 heáhstefn naca,  
 snellíc sâmearh,  
 snúde bewunden ;  
 oððæt we þissa leóða  
 land gesóhton  
 wære bewrecene,  
 swá us wind fordráf.  
 Him þá Andreas  
 eáðmód oncwæð :  
 Wolde ic þe biddan  
 þeah ic þe beága lyt  
 sincweorðunga  
 syllan meahte,  
 þæt þú ús gebrohte  
 branté ceólé,

sailing in ships,  
 men powerful on the sea,  
 upon the water-beater,  
 515 solitary floaters over the wave ?  
 whence hath the ocean-stream  
 over the rolling of the waters  
 brought you ?”  
 Him then answered  
 520 Almighty God,—  
 so that he might not know,  
 he *namely* who awaited his word,  
 what man it was  
 of men conversing,  
 525 whom he there upon the strand  
 communed with :  
 “ We from Mermedonia  
 our country are  
 far travelled :  
 530 us with the flood bare  
 on the whale’s path  
 the high-stemmed boat,  
 the swift sea-horse,  
 twisted about with speed ;  
 535 until we of this people  
 the land sought  
 afflicted with the sea, [about.”  
 so hath the wind driven us  
 Him then Andrew  
 540 humbly addressed :  
 “ I would beg thee—  
 though I to thee few rings  
 or treasure-offerings  
 may give,  
 545 that thou wouldst bring us  
 with the foaming keel,

heá hornscipe		the high pinnacled ship
ofer hwæles éðel,		over the whale's home,
on þære mægðe :		to that tribe :
býð þe meorð wið god,	550	thou wilt have reward with God,
þæt þú us on låde		for that thou tousest on our journey
līðe weorðe.		gentle wouldst be."
Eft him andswarode		Again him answered
æðelinga helm		the Lord of nobles
of ýðlide,	565	from the ship,
engla scippend :		the creator of angels :
Ne magon þær gewunian		"There may not dwell
wiðfêrende,		wide wandering men,
nê þær elpeóðige		nor there do strangers
eardes brúcað ;	560	enjoy the land ;
ah in þære ceastre		but in that city
cwealm þrówiað,		torment suffer,
þá þe feorran þiðer		they who thither from afar
feorh geládað ;		lead their life ;
and þú wilnast nú,	565	and now thou desirest,
ofer wiðne mere,		over the wide sea,
þæt þú on þa fægðe		that thou in that hostility
þínê feorê spilde !		thy life shouldst lose !"
Him þá Andreas		To him then Andrew
ágef ondsware :	570	gave answer :
U sic lust hwæteð		"Desire impels us
on þá leódmearce,		to that country,
micel módes hyht,		the great hope of our mind,
tó þære mæran byrig,		to that famous city,
þeóden leófesta,	575	dearest Lord,
gif þú us þíne wilt		if thou to us wilt
on merefaroðe		on the sea-shore
miltse gecýðan.		thy favor show."
Him ondswarode		Him answered
engla þeóden,	580	the king of angels,
neregend fira,		saviour of men,

of nacan stefne :	from the boat's stem :
We þe êstlice	“ We thee gladly
mid us willað	will with us
ferigan freóllice	585 freely convey
ofer fisces bæð,	over the fishes' bath,
efne tó þám lande	even to the land
þær þe lust myneð	which desire urges thee
tó gesécanne,	to seek,
siððan ge eówre	590 after ye your
gafulrædenne	payment
ágifen habbað,	have given,
sceattas gescrifene,	the appointed sum,
swá eów scipweardas	according as the ship-warders
áras ofer ýðbord	595 the men over the sea-board
unnan willað.	will grant to you.”
Him þá ófstlice	Him then quickly
Andreas wið,	Andrew,
wine þearfende,	the needy man,
wordum mælde :	600 addressed with words :
Næbbe ic fætedgold	“ I have no solid gold
nê feohgestreón,	nor store of silver,
welan nê wiste,	wealth nor abundance,
nê wíra gespann,	nor the joints of wires,
landes nê locenra beága,	605 land, nor locked rings,
þæt ic þe mæge lust áhwettan,	that I may excite thy desire,
willan in worulde,	thy will in the world,
swá þú wordê becwist.	as thou with word sayest.”
Him þá beorna breogo	Him then the king of men
þær he on bolcan sæt,	610 when he sat upon the beam,
ofer waroða geweorp,	over the dashing of the waves,
wiðþingode :	addressed again :
Hú gewearð þe þæs,	“ How doth this befall thee,
wine leófesta,	dearest friend,
þæt þú sêbeorgas	615 that thou the sea-hills
sécan woldes,	wouldst seek,



<p>merestreáma gemet,  máðmum bedæled,  ofer cald cleofu  ceóles neósan ?  Nafast þe tó frófre  on faroðstráete  hláfes wiste,  nê hlutterne  drync tó dūgóðe :  is se drohtað strang  þám þe lagoláde  lange cunnað.  Ðá him Andreas  þurh andsware,  wís on gewitte,  wordhord onleác :  Ne gedafenað þe  nú þe dryhten geaf  welan and wiste  and woruldspéde,  þæt þú andsware  mid oferhygdum,  séce sárcwide ;  sélre býð æghwám  þæt he eáðmédum  ellorfúsne  oncnáwe cūðlice,  swá þæt Crist bebeád  þeóden þrýmfæst.  We his þegnas sind  gecoren to cempum.  He is cyning on riht  wealdend and wyrhta  wuldorþrymmes ;  án éce god</p>	<p>the boundary of the sea-streams,  devoid of treasures,  over the cold cliffs  a ship wouldst visit ?  620 Thou hast not for thy comfort  on the sea-street  the subsistence of bread,  nor bright  625 drink for thy support :  severe is the way of life  for him who a sea-journey  long trieth.”  Then to him Andrew  630 through his answer,  wise in wit,  unlocked the treasure of words :  “ It befitteth thee not  sinceto thee the Lord hath given  635 wealth and abundance  and worldly prosperity,  that thou an answer  with arrogance, [ous words ;  shouldst seek, with contumeli-  640 better is it for everyone  that he with modesty  the ready to depart  should openly acknowledge,  as that Christ commanded  645 the glorious king.  We are his thanes  chosen to battle.  He is rightly king  wielder and creator  650 of glorious majesty :  one eternal God</p>
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eallra gesceafta,		of all creatures,
swá he ealle beféhð		even as he comprehendeth all
ânes cræfte,		by his sole power,
heofon and eorðan	655	heaven and earth
hâlgum mihtum,		by his holy might,
sigora sêlôst ;		most excellent of Lords ;
he þæt sylfa cwæð,		He himself said that,
fæder folca gehwæs,		the father of every nation,
and us fêran hêt	660	and bid us depart
geond ginne grund		beyond the abysmal deep
gâsta streónan :		to save souls :
Farað nú geond ealle		“ Go now throughout all
eorðan sceatas		the quarters of the earth
emne swá wide	665	even as far
swá wæter bebûgeð,		as water encircleth,
oððe stedewangas		or the fixed plains
stræte gelicgað ;		lie on the way ;
bodiað æfter burgum		preach through the cities
beorhtne geleáfan	670	the bright faith [earth :
ofer foldan fæðm :		throughout the bosom of the
ic eow freoðo healde.		I will hold peace with you.
Ne durfon ge on þá fóre		Ye must not on that journey
frætwe læðan,		take treasure,
gold nê seolfor ;	675	gold or silver ;
ic eow gôða gehwæs,		I to you of every good,
on eowerne âgenne dôm,		in your own decision,
êst âhwette.		the love excite.
Nú þú seolfa miht		Now thou thyself mayst
sîð úserne	680	our journey
gehýran, hygeþancol :		hear, reflecting :
ic sceal hraðe cunnan		I shall soon know
hwæt þú us tó duguðum		what favour thou us
gedôn wille.		wilt do.”
Him þa ondswarode	685	Him then answered
êce dryhten :		eternal God :

<p>Gif ge sindon þegnas          þæs þe þrym áhóf          ofer middangeard,          swá ge me secgað,          and ge geheóldon          þæt eów se hálga beád,          þonne ic eów mid gefean          ferian wille          ofer brimstreámas,          swá ge bēnan sint.          Þá in ceól stigon          collenfyrhðe,          ellenrófe ;          æghwilcum wearð          on merefaroðe          mód geblissod.          Ðá ofer ýða geswing          Andreas ongann          mereltðendum          miltsa biddan          wuldres aldor,          and þús wordum cwæð :          Forgife þe dryhten          dómweorðunga,          willan on worulde,          and in wuldre blæd,          meotud manncynnes,          swá þú me hafast          on þissum síðfæte          sibbe gecýðed !          Gesæt him þá se hálga          holmwearde neáh,          æðele be æðelum :          Æfre ic ne hýrde          þon cymlicor</p>	<p>690 as ye say to me,          and ye have observed [you,          that the holy one commanded          then I you with joy          will convey          695 over the sea-streams,          as ye petition.”          Then stept into the ship          the bold of spirit,          the famed for valour ;          700 of each one was          on the sea-beach          the spirit blessed.          Then over the swing of waves          Andrew began          705 for the sea-sailors          mercy to beg          the Lord of glory,          and thus spake in words :          “The Lord grant thee          710 the honour of dignity,          thy will in this world,          and increase in glory,          —the Creator of mankind,—          as thou hast to me          715 upon this journey          friendship manifested !”          Then sat himself the holy one          near the sea-warder,          noble by the noble :          720 Never heard I          that in a comelier</p>
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ceól gehlâdenne		ship laden
heahgestreónum		with lofty treasures
hæleð insæton,		men sat,
þeódnas þrymfulle,	725	glorious kings,
þegnas wlitige.		beauteous thanes !
Ðâ reordode		Then spake
ríce þeóden,		the powerful king,
éce ælmihtig héht		the eternal, almighty, bade
his engel gân,	730	his angel go,
mârne maguþegn		his glorious attendant
and mete syllan,		and give food,
fréfran feascaftne		comfort the wretched men
ofer flódes wylm,		over the flood's gush,
þæt hie þe eáð mihton	735	that they the easier might
ofer ýða geþring		over the clash of waves
drohtað adreógan.		their way of life endure.
Ðâ gedréfed wearð,		Then was vexed,
onhréred hwælmere,		excited the whale-lake,
hornfisc plegode,	740	the horn-fish plaid,
glâd geond gârsecg,		glode through the ocean,
and se græga mæw		and the gray mew [ter :
wælgifre wand :		circled round greedy of slaugh-
wedercandel swearc,		the weather-candle darkened,
windas weóxon,	745	the winds waxed,
wægas grundon,		the waves ground together,
streámas styredon,		the streams stirred,
strengas gurron,		the ropes creaked,
wædo gewætte ;		wet with the waters ;
wæteregsa stóð	750	water-terror stood
þreáta þryðum.		with the might of troops.
þegnas wurdon		The thanes were
acolmóde,		with terror chilled,
ænig ne wénde		none thought
þæt he lifgende	755	that he alive
land begete,		should reach land,

þára þe mid Andreas		of those who with Andrew
on eágorstreám		on the ocean-stream
ceól gesóhte :		sought the ship :
næs him cûð þá gyt	760	as yet they knew not
hwá þám sæflotan		who the sea-floater's
sund wísode.		swimming directed.
Him þá se hálga		To him then the holy man
on holmwege		upon the ocean-way
ofer árgeblond	765	over the sea
Andreas þá git,		Andrew yet,
þegn þeódne hold,		the thane faithful to his Lord,
þanc gesægde,		said thanks,
ricum ræsboran,		to the powerful chieftain,
þá he gereordod wæs.	770	when he was satisfied with food.
Ðe þissa swæsenda		“To thee for this reflection
sóðfæst meotud,		may soothfast God,
lifes leóhtfruma,		the giver of the light of life,
leán forgilde,		grant reward,
weoruda waldend,	775	the Lord of hosts,
and þe wist gife		and grant to thee the food
heofonlicne hláf,		of heavenly bread,
swá þú hyldo wið me		even as thou grace to me
ofer firigenstreám,		over the mighty stream,
freode gecýðdest !	780	and peace hast manifested !
Nú sint geþreáde		Now are rebuked
þegnas míne,		my thanes,
geónge gûðrincas ;		my young warriors ;
gársecg hlymmeð,		the ocean roareth,
geofon geótende :	785	the pouring sea :
grund is onhréred,		the abyss is excited,
deópe gedréfed ;		deeply vexed ;
duguð is geswenced,		their strength is oppressed,
módigra mægen,		the main of the valiaut,
miclum gebysgod.	790	much troubled !
Him of holme oncwæð		☛ Him over the sea addressed

hæleða scippend :		the creator of men :
Læt nū gefērian		“ Let now go
flōtan ūserne		our ship
lid tō lande	795	our vessel to land
ofer lagufæsten,		over the sea-fortress,
and þonne gebīdan		and then await
beornas þīne,		thy men
āras on earde		thy messengers on land
hwænne þū eft cyme.	800	when thou comest back again.”
Edre him þa eorlas		Immediately to him the earls
āgefōn ondsware,		gave answer,
þegnas þrothearde,		the thanes exceeding bold,
þafigan ne woldon		they would not consent
þæt hie forlēton	805	that they should desert
æt lides stefnan		at the prow of the ship
leōfne lāreow		their dear teacher
and him land curon :		and choose land for themselves :
Hwider hweorfað we		“ Whither can we go
hlāfordleāse,	810	without our lord,
geómormōde,		mournful of mood,
gōde orfeorme,		of good devoid,
synnum wunde,		wounded with sins,
gif we swīcað þe ?		if we should shrink from thee ?
We bioð lāðe	815	We shall be odious
on landa gehwām,		in every land,
folcum fracōðe,		hateful to the people,
þonne fira bearn		when the sons of men
ellenrōfe		famed for courage
æht besittað,	820	sit in council,
hwylc hira sēlāst		which of them best
simle gelæste		ever performed
hlāforde æt hilde,		towards his lord in battle,
þonne hand and rond		when hand and shield
on beaduwange,	825	on the battle-plain,
billum forgrunden		ground down with bills

æt niðplegan,  
nearu þrōwedon.

þā reordade  
ríce þeóden,  
wærfæst cyning  
word stunde áhóf :  
Gif þú þegn sie  
þrymsittendes,  
wuldorcyninges,  
swá þú wordé becwist,  
rece þā gerýnu,  
hú he reordberend  
lærde under lyfte.

Lang is þeos siðfæt  
ofer fealuwne flód :  
fréfra þíne

mæcgas on móde,  
micel is nú gēna  
lād ofer lagustream,  
land swiðe feor  
tō gesécanne ;  
sand is geblonden,  
grund wið greóte.

God eáðe mæg  
heaðolftendum  
helpe gefremman.

Ongan þā gleáwlíce  
gingran síne,  
wuldorspédige weras,  
wordum trymman :  
Ge þæt gehogodon,  
þā ge on holm stigon,

þæt ge on fâra folc  
feorh gelæddon,

in the hostile play,  
suffered straits.”

Then spake

830 the powerful prince,  
the truthful king  
his word at once upraised :  
“ If thou be the servant  
of him that sitteth in majesty,  
835 the king of glory,  
as thou in words assertest,  
expound the mysteries,  
how he the bearers of speech  
taught under the sky.

840 Long is this journey  
over the fallow flood :  
comfort thy

young men in mood,  
great is now still

845 our voyage over the lake-stream,  
very far is the land  
to seek ;  
the sand is mixed together,  
the abyss with the strand.

850 God may easily  
to them that sail the deep  
give help !

Then intelligently began he  
his disciples,

855 men gloriously blest,  
with words confirm :

“ Ye meditated that,  
when ye embarked on the deep  
sea,

860 that ye among a hostile people  
would lead your life,

and for dryhtnes lufan  
 deað þrôwodon,  
 on Ælmyrcna  
 êðelrice,  
 sawle gesealdon.  
 Ic þæt sylfa wât,  
 þæt us gescildeð  
 scippend engla,  
 weoruda dryhten.  
 Wæteregesa sceal,  
 geþýd and gepreatod  
 þurh þryðcyning,  
 lagu lâcende,  
 líðra wyrðan.  
 Swa gesælde iú  
 þat we on sæbâte  
 ofer waruðgewinn  
 wada cunnedon,  
 faroðridende :  
 frêne þúhton  
 egle eáláda ;  
 e:gorstreámas  
 beóton bordstæðu ;  
 brim eft oncwæð,  
 ýð óðerre :  
 hwílum uppástód  
 of brimes bósme  
 on bates fæðm  
 egesa ofer ýðlid.  
 Ælmihtig þær,  
 meotud mancýnnes,  
 on mereþýssan  
 beorht basnode.  
 Beornas wurdon  
 forhte on môde ;

and for the love of God  
 would suffer death,  
 in the *Ælmyrcan*  
 realm,  
 865 your soul would offer up.  
 I myself know that,  
 that us will shield  
 the creator of angels,  
 the Lord of Hosts !  
 870 The terror of the water shall,  
 being rebuked and threatened  
 through the Lord of power,  
 the dancing wave,  
 become more gentle.  
 875 So of yore it befell  
 that we on the seaboat  
 over the strife of the waves  
 tried the fords,  
 riding over the waters :  
 880 terrible appeared  
 the fearful seaways ;  
 the ocean-streams  
 beat the boundary-shores ;  
 the sea made answer again,  
 885 one wave to the other :  
 by whiles uprose  
 from the bosom of the sea  
 on the lap of the boat  
 terror over our waveship.  
 890 The Almighty there,  
 the creator of mankind,  
 upon the sea-beater  
 bright awaited.  
 The men were  
 895 fearful of mood ;



friðes wilnedon,		peace they desired,
miltsa tō mârūm.		mercy from the mighty one.
Þā seó menigo ongan		Then the multitude began
clypian on ceóle :		to call in the ship :
cýning sóna áras,	900	soon arose the king,
engla eádgifa :		glory-giver of angels :
ýðum stilde,		he stilled the waves,
wæteres wælmum ;		the boiling of the waters ;
windas þreáde ;		he rebuked the winds ;
sæ sessade,	905	the sea subsided,
smylte wurdon		smooth became
merestreáma gemeotu.		the clashing of the sea-streams.
Þā úre móð áhlóh,		Then laughed our mood,
siððan we geségon		after we saw [ment
under swegles gang	910	beneath the path of the firma-
windas and wægas		the winds and waves
and wæterbrógan		and the terror of the water
forhte gewordne		become terrified themselves
for freán egesan.		for fear of the Lord.
Forþan ic eow sóðe	915	Therefore I in sooth to you
secgan wille,		will say,
þæt næfre forlæteð		that never will desert
lifgende god		the living God
eorl on eorðan,		a man on earth,
gif his ellen deáh.	920	if his courage avail.”
Swá hleóðrode		Thus spake
hálig cempa,		the holy champion,
þeáwum gepancul		wisely thoughtful
þegnas lærde,		he admonished his thanes,
eádig oreta	925	the blessed warrior
eorlas trymede :		confirmed the men :
oððæt hie semninga		until them all at once
slæp ofereóde,		sleep invaded,
mêðe be mæste.		wearily beside the mast.
Mere sweoðerade,	930	The sea calmed itself,

ŷða ongin		the struggle of the waves
eft oncyrde,		turned back again,
hreóh holmþracu.		the fierce ocean-power.
Þá þám hálgan wearð,		Then was for the holy one,
æfter grýrehwíle,	935	after a period of terror,
gást geblissod.		his spirit blest.
Ongan þá reordigan		Then began to speak
ræðum snottor,		the prudent of council,
wís on gewitte		wise of wit
wordlocan onspeónn :	940	he unlocked the locks of words :
Næfre ic sælidan		“ Never I a sailor
selran mætte,		better met with,
mácræftigran		more powerful
þæs þe me þynceð,		as me thinks,
rórend rófran,	945	a more famous rower,
ræðsnotterran,		one more prudent of council,
wordes wísrán :		one wiser of word :
ic wílle þe,		I will of thee,
eorl unforcúð,		O man well reputed,
anre nú gæna	950	one more
béne biddan ;		boon require ;
þeáh ic þe beága lyt,		though I to thee few rings,
sincweorðunga,		few compliments of treasure,
syllan mihte,		may give,
fætedsinces,	955	of solid treasure,
wolde ic freóndscipe,		I would thy friendship,
þeóden þrymfæst,		powerful chief,
þínne, gif ic mihte,		if I might,
begitan góðne.		thy good (friendship) obtain.
Ðæs þú gife hleótest,	960	Thus mayst thou have grace to
háligne hyht		holy hope [thy lot,
on heofonþrymme,		in heaven's glory,
gif þú lidwérigum		if thou to us sea-weary,
lárna þínra		of thy instruction
ést wyrðest.	965	be gracious !

<p>           Wolde ic ánes tó þe,            cyneróf hæleð,            cræftes neósan ;            þæt þú me getæhte,            nú þe tir cyning            and miht forgef,            manna scippend,            hú þú wægflotan            wære bestêmdan,            sæhengeste            sund wísige.            Ic wæs on gífeðe            iú and nú,            sixtyne síðum            on sæbâte            merehrêrendum,            mundum freórig,            eágorstreámas :            is þys áne má :            swá ic æfre ne geseah            ænigne mann,            þryðbearn hæleð,            þe gelicne,            steóran ofer stæfnan.            Streámwelm hwíleð,            beátað brim stæðo,            is þeós bát fulscrýd,            fareð fámigheals,            fugole gelicóst            glídeð on geofene.            Ic georne wát            þæt ic æfre ne geseah            ofer ýðláfe,            on sæ lædan            syllicran cræft.         </p>	<p>           I would of one from thee,            famous noble hero,            craft enquire ;            that thou teach me,            since now to thee the King glory            and power hath given,            the Creator of men,            how thou to the wave-floater            stained with the salt-sea,            to the sea-stallion            its swimming directest.            I was by hap,            now and then,            sixteen times            on a seaboat            stirring the wave,            the ocean-streams,            freezing as to my hands :            this is once more :            yet never beheld I            any man,            powerful hero,            like unto thee,            steer over prow.            The stream-bubbling delayeth,            the sea beateth the shores,            this boat is full clothed,            foamy-necked it fareth,            likest unto a bird            it glideth over ocean !            Well I know            that I never beheld            over the leavings of the waves,            upon the sea to lead            a more wondrous craft.         </p>
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Is þon gelicôst		Most like then it is
swâ he on landsceape		as if it on a landskip
stille stande,		stilly stood,
þær hine storm ne mæg		where him the storm may not
wind âweggan,	1005	or the wind move,
ne wæterflôdas		nor the waterfloods
brecan brondstæfne ;		break him the foamy-prowed ;
hwæðere on brim sneóweð		but over the sea he hasteneth
snel under segle.		swift under sail !
Ðu eart seolfa geóng,	1010	Thou art thyself young,
wigendra hleo,		O refuge of warriors,
nalas wintrum frôd :		not old in years :
hafast þe on fyrhðe		thou hast in spirit for thyself
faroðlácendes		a sea-playing
eorles ondsware :	1015	man's answer :
æghwylces canst		in every matter thou art knowing
worda for worulde,		of words for worldly converse,
wislíc andgt.		thou hast an intelligent under-
Him ondswarode		Him answered [standing.]
éce dryhten :	1020	the eternal Lord :
Oft þæt gesæleð,		“ That often befalleth,
þæt we on sælåde,		that we on a seajourney,
scipum under scealcum,		in ships among our men,
þonne sceór cymeð,		when the storm cometh,
brecað ofer bæðweg	1025	break over the bathway
brimhengestum.		with our ocean-stallions.
Hwílum ús on ýðum		By whiles to us upon the waves
earfoðlice		miserably
gesæleð, on sæwe,		it befalleth, on the sea,
þéh we stð nesen,	1030	though we live through our
frécne gefêran ;		bold comrades ; [journey,
flódwylm ne mæg		the fury of the flood may not
manna ænigne,		any one of men,
ofer meotudes est,		against the Lord's will,
lungre gelettan :	1035	at once let :

áh him lifes gewæld		He hath power over life
se þe brimu bindeð,		who bindeth the seas,
brúne ýða		the brown waves
þýð and þreátáð.		restraineth and threateneth.
He þeódum sceal	1040	He the nations shall
rædan mid rihte,		justly rule,
se þe rodor áhóf,		who uplifted the firmament,
and gefæstnode		and set it fast
folmum sínum ;		with his own hands ;
worhte and wréðede,	1045	wrought it and established it,
wuldres fylde		with glory filled
beorhtne boldwelan.		the bright dwelling of wealth.
Swá gebledsod wearð		So blessed was
engla éðel		the dwelling of the angels
þurh his ánes miht.	1060	through his might alone.
Forþan is gesýne,		Therefore is it seen,
sóð orgete,		truly intelligible,
cúð oncnáwen,		certainly acknowledged,
þæt þú cyninges eart		that thou art the king's
þegen gefungen,	1055	dignified servant,
þrymsittendes.		that sitteth in glory.
Forþan þe sóna		Therefore thee straightway
sæholm oncneów,		the deep sea recognised,
garsecges begang,		the circuit of ocean,
þæt þú gife hæfdes	1060	that thou hadst grace
háliges gástes.		of the Holy Ghost.
Hærn eft onwand,		The tide turned back,
ár ýða geblond ;		the blending of the waves ;
egesa gestilde		terror stilled
wídfæðme wæg ;	1065	the wide-bosomed wave ;
wædu swæðorodon		the fords subsided
seoððan hie ongéton		when they perceived
þæt þe god hæfde		that thee God had
wære bewunden,		with his covenant invested,
se þe wuldres blæd	1070	he who the increase of glory

gestaðolade		established
strangum mihtum.		by his strong might !”
þá hleóðrade		Then spake
hálgan stefne		with holy voice .
cempa collenferhð,	1075	the bold-hearted warrior,
cyning wyrðude		he praised the King
wuldres wealdend,		the Lord of Glory,
and þús wordum cwæð :		and thus spake with words :
Wes þú gebledsod,		“ Be thou blessed,
brego mancynnes,	1080	prince of human kind,
dryhten hálend.		Lord the Saviour !
A þín dóm lifað,		For ever liveth thine honour,
ge néh ge feor		near and far
is þín nama hálig,		is thy name holy,
wuldre gewlítegad	1085	beautified with glory
ofer werþeóda,		throughout the tribes of men,
miltsum gemærsod.		magnified with mercies !
Nænig manna is		There is none of men
under heofonhwealfe,		under the vault of heaven,
hæleða cynnes,	1090	none of the race of men,
þætte áreccan mæg,		that may relate,
oððe rim wite,		or know the number,
hú þrymlíce		how gloriously thou
þeóda baldor,		king of men,
gásta geóccend,	1095	saviour of spirits,
þíne gife dælest.		dost thy grace distribute.
Háru is gesýne,		It at least is seen,
sáwla nergend,		saviour of souls,
þæt þú þissum hysse		that thou to this man
hold gewurde,	1100	hast been gracious,
and hine geóngne		and him young as he is
geofum wyrðodest ;		with gifts hast dignified ;
wís on gewitte		wise is he in wit
and wordcwíðum.		and sayings of words.
Ic æt efenealdum	1105	I from one of his age

æfre ne mētte		never met
on mōdsefan		in mind
māran snyttro.		with greater prudence !”
Him þā of ceōle oncwæð		Him then from the ship an-
cyninga wuldor,	1110	the glory of kings, [swered
frægn fromlice		prudently he asked
fruman and ende :		the beginning and the end :
Saga þances gleaw,		“ Say, wise of thought,
þegn, gif þū cunne,		man, if thou know,
hū þæt gewurde,	1115	how that came to pass,
be werum tweónum,		between two men,
þæt þa árleásan,		that the impious men,
inwidþancum,		with hostile intentions,
Iudéa cynn		the race of Jews
wið godes bearne	1120	against God’s son
áhóf hearmcwide.		set up an accusation.
Hæleð unsælige		The hapless men
nó þær gelyfdon		believed not there
in hira liffruman,		in their Prince of Life,
grome gealgmóde,	1125	fierce and gallows-minded,
þæt he góð wære :		that he was God :
þeáh þe he wundra fela		although he many miracles
weorodum gecyððe,		to their tribes exhibited,
sweotulra and gesýnra :		evident and visible :
synnige ne mihton	1130	they sinful might not
oncnáwan þæt cynebearn		acknowledge the royal child
se þe ácenned wearð		that was born
tó hleo and tó hróðre		for a refuge and comfort
hæleða cynne,		to the race of men,
eallum eorðwarum ;	1135	for all earth’s dwellers ;
æðelinge weóx		in the prince grew
word and wísdóm :		word and wisdom :
ah he þára wundra á,		but he of miracles ever,
dóm ágende,		the lord of power,
dæl ænigne	1140	some portion

frætre þeóde		before the proud people
beforan cýðde.		manifested."
Him þá Andreas		To him then Andrew
ágef andsware :		returned answer :
Hú mihte þæt gewyrðan	1145	" How might that happen
in werþeóde,		in the world,
þæt þú ne gehýrde		that thou hast not heard of
hælandes miht,		the Saviour's power,
gumena leófóst,		O dearest of men,
hú he his gif cýðde	1150	how he showed his grace
geond woruld wide,		throughout the wide world,
wealdendes bearn ?		he the son of the ruler ?
sealde he dumbum gesprec ;		He gave speech to the dumb ;
deáfe gehýrdon ;		the deaf heard ;
healtum and hreófum	1155	to the halt and the leper
hýge blissode,		their spirit was filled with joy,
þa þe limseóce		who sick of limb
lange wæron,		long had been,
wérige, wanhále,		weary, wretched,
wítum gebundene ;	1160	bound with sins ;
æfter burhstedum		through the cities
blinde gesêgon ;		the blind saw ;
swá he on grundwæge		so he on the solid plain
gumena cynnes		of mankind
manige missenlice	1165	many in various ways,
men of deáðe		men from death
wordé áwehte ;		woke with his word ;
swylce he eac wundra feala		so he also many miracles
cynerof cýðde,		royally glorious showed,
þurh his cræftes miht.	1170	through the might of his power.
He gehálgode		He hallowed
for heremægene		before the multitude
wín of wætere,		wine from water,
and wendan hét,		and bade it change,
beornum tó blisse,	1175	for the joy of men,



on þa beteran geeynd.		into the better nature.
Swylce he áfêdde		Also he fed
of fixum twâm		from two fishes
and of fif hláfum,		and from five loaves,
fira cynnes	1180	of the race of men
fif þúsendo :		five thousand :
feðan sæton		the troops sat down
reómigmóde		wearry of mood,
reste gefêgôn		in rest they rejoiced
wêrige æfter wæðe :	1185	wearry after wandering :
wiste þêgon		the feast they received
menn on moldan,		the men upon the earth,
swá him gemédóst wæs.		as was most commodious for
Nú þú miht gehýran,		Now thou mayst hear, [them.
hyse leófesta,	1190	dearest man,
hú us wuldres weard,		how us the Lord of glory,
wordum and dædum,		with words and deeds,
lufode in life,		loved during life,
and þurh láre speón		and by his teaching drew us
tó þám fægeran gefeán,	1195	to the fair joy,
þær freó móton,		where free they might,
eádiges mid englum,		blessed among the angels,
eard weardigan,		rule the earth,
þa þe æfter deáðe		those namely who after death
dryhten sêcað.	1200	seek the Lord !”
Ðá gen wegges weard		Again the ruler of the wave
word hord onleác,		unlocked the treasure of speech,
beorn ofer bolcan		the man over the balks
beald reordade :		spake boldly :
Miht þú me gesecgan,	1205	“Thou mightest say,
þæt ic sóð wíte,		that I may truly know,
hwæðer wealdend þín		whether thy lord
wundor on eorðan		miracles on earth
þá he gefremede,		when he performed,
nalas feám síðum	1210	no few times

folcum tō frōfre,		for the benefit of the people,
beforan cȳðde		revealed them openly
þær biscopas		where bishops
and bōceras		and scribes
and ealdormen	1215	and princes
æht besæton,		sat in council,
mæðelhegende.		interchanging speech.
Me þæt þyncceð		It seemeth to me
þæt hie for æfstum		that they through jealousy
inwit syredon,	1220	conspired mischief,
þurh deópne gedwolan,		through deep error,
deóflæs lārūm,		by the devil's lore,
hæleð hinfūse		the men death-devoted
hȳrdon tō georne		too readily listened to
wraðum wærlogan ;	1225	the furious warlock ;
hie seó wyrd beswác,		them fate deceived,
ferleólc and forlærde.		seduced and taught ill.
Nū hie lungre sceolon,		Now shall they immediately,
wérige mid wérigum,		wearry among the weary,
wrace þrówian,	1230	suffer vengeance,
biterne bryne		bitter burning
on banan fæðme.		in the embrace of foes."
Him þá Andreas		To him then Andrew
ágef andsware :		returned answer :
Sage ic þe tō sóðe	1235	" I say to thee in sooth
þæt he swiðe oft		that he very often
beforan fremede		performed before
folces ræswum		the princes of the people
wundor æfter wundre,		miracle after miracle,
on wera gesiehðe :	1240	in the sight of men :
swylce deogollfce		also privately
Dryhten gumena		the Lord of men
folcraéd fremede,		did public benefits,
swá he tō friðe hogode.		as he for their good devised."
Him andswarode	1245	Him answered

æðelinga helm :		the defence of nobles :
Miht þú, wís hæleð,		“ Might thou, O wise man,
wordum gesecgan,		say in words,
maga móde róf,		O young man, famous of mood,
mægen þá he cýðde,	1260	how he revealed his power,
deórmód on digle,		the beloved one in secret,
þá mid dryhten oft,		when often with the Lord,
rodera rædend,		the ruler of the firmament
rûne besæton ?		ye sat in council ?”
Him þá Andreas	1265	To him then Andrew
andsware ágef :		returned answer :
Hwæt frinest þú me		“ What askest thou of me,
freá leófesta,		best beloved lord,
wordum wrætlicum ?		with cunning words ?
and þe wyrdra gehwære	1260	and thou every hap
þurh snyttru cræft		through power of wisdom
sóð oncnáwest ?		thyself truly knowest !”
Ðá git him wæges weard		Again with him the guardian of
wiðþingode :		conversed : [the wave
Ne frine ic þe for tæle,	1265	“ I ask thee not for blame,
ne þurh teóncwide,		nor for abuse,
on hránráde :		or the whale’s path :
ac mîn hygé blissað,		but my mind rejoiceth,
wynnum wridað,		buddeth with joys,
þurh þíne wordlæde	1270	through thy discourse
æðelum écne.		with virtues great.
Ne eom ic ána þæt,		Nor am I that only,
ac manna gehwám		but for every man
mód bið on hyhte,		the mind is in expectation,
fyrhð áfréfred,	1275	the spirit comforted,
þám þe feor oððe neáh		who either far or near
on móde geman,		remembereth in mood,
hú se maga fremede,		how the young man acted,
god-bearn on grundum :		the divine child on earth :
gástas hwurfon,	1280	souls departed,

sohton siðfreme  
 swegles dreámas,  
 engla éðel,  
 þurh þa æðelan miht.  
 Edre him Andreas  
 1285 Agef andsware :  
 Nû ic on þe sylfum  
 sôð oncnáwe  
 wísdómes gewít  
 wundorcrafte,  
 1290 sigespéd geseald :  
 snyttrum blóweð  
 beorhtre blisse  
 breóst innanweard.  
 Nû ic þe sylfum  
 1295 secgan wille  
 ðr and ende,  
 swá ic þæs æðelinges  
 word and wísdóm  
 on wera gemóte,  
 1300 þurh his sylfes mûð,  
 symle gehýrde.  
 Oft gesamnodon  
 síde herigeas  
 folc unrnáete,  
 1305 tó freán dóme ;  
 þær hie hycnodon  
 háliges láre ;  
 þonne eft gewát  
 æðelunga helm,  
 1310 beorht blædgifa,  
 in bold óðer,  
 þær him tógenes  
 God herigende,  
 1315 tó þám meðelstede

they sought rejoicing in their  
 the joys of heaven, [journey  
 the home of angels,  
 through his noble might !”  
 1285 At once Andrew  
 returned him answer :  
 “ Now I in thee thyself  
 truly acknowledge  
 wit of wisdom  
 1290 in wondrous power,  
 success in glory given :  
 wisely bloweth  
 in bright bliss  
 the breast within.  
 1295 Now to thyself I  
 will say  
 the beginning and the end,  
 as I the noble’s  
 word and wisdom  
 1300 in the concourse of men,  
 through his own mouth,  
 ever heard.  
 Often collected  
 the wide troops  
 1305 uncounted crowds,  
 to the lord’s doom ;  
 there they hearkened to  
 the lore of the holy one ;  
 then again departed  
 1310 the defence of men,  
 the bright giver of glory,  
 into another building,  
 where to meet him  
 praising God,  
 1315 unto the place of converse

manige fōmon		many came
snottere sele-rædend :		prudent, wise in council :
symbble gefēgon		ever rejoiced
beornas blīðheorte		the blithe-hearted men
burhweardes cyme.	1320	in the coming of the prince.
Swā gesælde iú,		So it once befell
þæt se sigedēma,		that the ruler of victory,
fērde freá mihtig :		the mighty lord went :
næs þær folces mā		there was no greater company
on sōðfæte	1325	on that journey
sīnra leóða		of his own people
nemne ellefne		than eleven
oretmæcgas,		champions,
geteled tīreádige ;		numbered glorious ;
he wæs twelfta sylf.	1330	he was himself the twelfth.
Ðá we becōmon		When we came
to þám cynestóle,		to the royal throne,
þær getimbred wæs		where was built
tempel dryhtnes,		the temple of the lord,
heáh and borngéap,	1335	lofty and arched with pinnacles,
hæleðum gefrēge,		famous among men,
wuldre gewlítegod,		beautified with glory,
huscworde ongan		with words of insult began
þurh inwitþanc		through malicious purpose
eáldorsacerd	1340	the high priest
herme hyspan,		mischievously to revile him,
hordlocan onspeón,		he opened the treasure-locks,
wróht webbade :		malice he wove :
he on gewitte oncneów		he in spirit knew
þæt we sōðfæstes	1345	that we the true one's
swaðe folgodon,		track followed,
læston lārcwide :		obeyed his doctrine :
he lungre áhof,		he raised at once,
woðe wiðerhydig,		in language hostile,
weán onblonden :	1350	evil unmixed :

Hwæt ge sindon earme		' Lo ye are wretched
ofer ealle menn,		above all men,
wadað wídlástan,		ye tread wide ways,
weorn gefêrað		many ye travel
earfoðsiða :	1355	of laborious journeys :
ellþeódiges nû		a stranger's now—
bûtan leódrihte		against the law of the land—
lârum hýrað ;		doctrine ye obey :
eádiges orhlytte		deprived of blessing
æðeling cýðað ;	1360	ye announce a prince ;
secgað sóðlice		ye say for truth
þæt mid suna meotudes		that with the son of God
drohtigen dæg hwamlice :		ye converse daily :
þæt is duguðum cûð		it is well known to men
hwanon þám ordfruman	1365	whence your prince's
æðelu onwócon.		nobility arose.
He wæs áfêded		He was brought up
on þisse folcsceare,		in this district,
cildgeóng ácenned		child-young born
mid his cneómagam :	1370	with his near relatives :
þûs sindon háten		thus are called
hámsittende,		the home-dwellers,
fæder and módur,		his father and mother,
þæs we gefrægen habbað		as we have learned
þurh módgemynd,	1375	by remembrance of mood,
Maria and Joseph ;		Mary and Joseph ;
sindon him æðelum		to him in his family
ððere twegen		are other twain
beornas geborene		men born
bróðorsibbum,	1380	in brotherly love,
suna Josephes,		the sons of Joseph,
Simon and Jacob.		Simon and James.'
Swá hleóðrodon		Thus spake
hæleða ræswan,		the leaders of the people,
dugoð dómgeorne,	1385	the ambitious rulers,

dyrnan þohton		they thought to hide
meotudes mihte :		the might of God :
mân eft gehwearf,		their sin returned,
yfel endeleás,		endless evil,
þær hit ær áras.	1390	thither, where it first arose.
Þá se þeóden gewát		Then the king departed
þegna hearra,		the lord of men,
fram þám meðelstede,		from the place of converse,
mihtum geswíðed,		with power made strong,
dugeða dryhten,	1395	the lord of princes,
sêcan digol land :		to seek a secret land :
he þurh wundra feala		he through many miracles
on þám wêstenne		in the desert
cræfta gecyðde,		through his power revealed,
þæt he wæs cyning on riht	1400	that he was justly king
ofer middangeard,		over the world,
mægene geswíðed,		with might strengthened,
waldend and wyrhta		the ruler and creator
wuldorþrymmes,		of glorious majesty,
án êce god	1405	one eternal God
eallra gesceafta :		of all creatures :
swylce he ôðerra		also he other
unrim cýðde		wondrous works
wundorworca		innumerable revealed
on wera gesýhðe.	1410	in the sight of men.
Siððan eft gewát		Afterwards he returned
ôðrê stðe,		a second time,
getrume miclê,		with a great crowd,
þæt he in temple gestóð,		until he stood in the temple,
wuldres aldor :	1415	the prince of glory :
wordhleóðor ástág		the sound of words arose
geond heáhreced,		through the high house,
háliges lare ;		of the holy one's lore ;
synnige ne swulgon,		the sinful . . . . .
þeáh he sóðra swá feala	1420	though he so many true

tácna gecyðde, þær hie tósægon. Swylce he wrætlfce wundorágræfene anlicnesse engla stnra geseh, sigora freá on seles wage, on twá healfe torhte gefrætwed, wlitige geworhte. he wordé cwæð : Ðis is anlicnes engelcynna þæs breместan mid þám burgwarum in þære ceastre is ; Cheruphim and Seraphim þa on swegeldreámum sindon nemned ; fore onsýne écan dryhtnes standað stiðferhðe, stefnum herigað, hálgum hleóðrum, heofoncyniges þrym, meotudes mundbyrd. Her ámearcod is háligra hfw, þurh handmægen áwriten on wealle wuldres þegnas. Ðá gen wordé cwæð weoruda dryhten, heofonhálig gást,	<p>tokens exhibited, while they looked on. Also he a cunningly wondrously carved image of his angels, beheld, the lord of victories, on the wall of the room, on both sides brightly adorned, beauteously wrought. He spake with words : ' This is the image of the races of angels of the most celebrated amongst the inhabitants, in the town that is ; Cherubim and Seraphim they in the joys of heaven are named ; before the face of the eternal lord the stout-hearted stand, with their voices they praise, with their holy songs, the glory of heaven's king, the protection of God. Here is depicted : the form of the holy ones, through might of hand upon the wall are carved the ministers of glory. Again spake with words the Lord of hosts, the heaven holy-spirit,</p>
	1425
	1430
	1435
	1440
	1445
	1450
	1455



fore þam heremægene :		before the multitude :
Nû ic bebeóde		‘ Now I command
beácen ætýwan,		a sign to be shown,
wundor geweorðan,		a miracle to be done,
on wera gemange :	1460	in the midst of men :
þæt þeós onlicnes		that this image
eorðan séce,		shall seek the earth,
wlitig of wage,		beauteous from the wall,
and word sprece,		and speak words,
secge sóðcwidum ;	1465	say in phrases of truth ;
þý sceolon gelyfan		thereby shall believe
eorlas on cyððe		men in this country
hwæt mīn æðelo sien.		what my nobility is.’
Ne dorste þá forhyllman,		Then dared it not conceal
hælendes bebod,	1470	the Saviour’s command,
wundor fore weorodum,		the miracle before the multi-
		tudes,
ac of wealle áhleóp		but from the wall leapt down
fród fyrngeweorc		the venerable antique work
þæt he on foldan stóð,		so that it stood upon the ground,
stân fram stâne ;	1475	stone from the stone ;
stefn æfter cwom		after came a voice .
hlúd þurh heardne,		loud through the hard one,
hleóðor dynede ;		the noise resounded ;
wordum wemde :		with words it blamed them :
wrætlic þúhte	1480	wondrous seemed
stíðhycgendum		unto the proud of heart
stânes ongin.		the undertaking of the stone.
Sewte saverdas		It taught the priests
sweotolum tǣcnum ;		with manifest signs ;
witig werede,	1485	wittily it rebuked them,
and wordé cwæð :		and said with words :
Ge sind unlæde,		“ Ye are rude,
earma geþohta,		of poor thoughts,
searowum beswicene,		with snares deceived,

<p>oððe sêl nyton,  môde gemyrde.  Ge monetigað  godes êce bearn, and þone  þe grund and sund,  heofon and eorðan  and hreó wægás,  salte sæstreámas  and swegl uppe,  âmeacode  mundum sínum.  Ðis is se ilca  ealwalda god,  þone on fyrndagum  fæderas cūðon :  he Abrahame  and Isace  and Jacobe  gife bryttode,  welum weorðode,  wordum sægde,  ârest Habrahame  sêðeles geþingu,  þæt of his cynne  cenned sceolde  weorðan wuldres god :  is seó wyrd mid eów  open orgete ;  magan eágum nū  geseón sigores god,  swegles ágend.  Æfer þissum wordum  weorud hlosnode  geond þæt síde sel,  swígodon ealle.</p>	<p>1490 or ye know no better,  marred in mind !  ye rebuke  God's eternal child, and him  who land and sea,  1495 heaven and earth,  and the rough waves,  the salt sea streams,  and firmament aloft,  marked out  1500 with his own hands.  This is the same  all-ruling God,  whom in days of old  your fathers knew :  1505 he to Abraham  and Isaac  and Jacob  gave grace,  with wealth he dignified them,  1510 with words he said to them,  first unto Abraham  the compact of his race,  that of his kin  born should  1515 be the God of glory :  this wierd is among you  openly intelligible ;  now may you with your eyes  see the God of victory,  1520 the lord of the firmament.'</p> <p>After these words  the multitude were astonished  through the wide hall,  they all were silent.</p>
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þá þá yldestan	1525	Then the eldest
eft ongunnon		again began
secgan synfulle,		sinful to say, [not]
sóð ne oncneówon,		(the truth they acknowledged
þæt hit drýcræftum		that it by magic arts
gedón wære,	1530	was done,
scíngelácum,		by glamour,
þæt se scýna stán		that the bright stone
mælde for mannum.		spake before men.
Mán wríðode		Wickedness blossomed
geond beorna breóst,	1535	in the men's breast,
brandháta nřð		brand hot malice
weóll on gewitte,		boiled in their mind,
weorm blædum fæg		grew hot the variegated
áttor alfæle.		poison, all yellow.
þær orcnáwe (wearð)	1540	There was evident
þurh teóncwide		through their injurious word
tweógende móð,		the faithless mood,
mæcga misgehyd		the ill thought of the men
morðre bewunden.		with murder wound about.
þá se þeóden bebeád	1545	Then the king commanded
þryðweorc faran		the strong work to go
stán (on) stræte,		the stone on the street,
of stedewange,		from the solid plain,
and forðgán,		and go forward,
foldweg tredan	1550	tread the earthway
gréne grundas,		the green plains,
godes árendu		God's errand
lárur lædan		in doctrines to lead
on þá leodmearce		into the district
tó Channaneum,	1555	of Canaan,
cyninges worde;		by the king's word ;
beóðan Habrahame		to command Abraham
mid his eaforum twæm,		with his two descendants,
of eorðscræfe		from the earth cavern

ærist fremman,	1560	to make resurrection,
lætan landreste,		to leave their land-rest,
leoðo gadrigean,		limbs to gather up,
gâste onfôn,		spirit to take,
and geógoðhâdes		and of youth
edniwinge ;	1565	the renewal ;
andweard cuman,		present to come
fróde fynweotan,		(the pious ancient sages)
folce gecýðan		to the people announce
hwylcne hie god mihtum		whom they as God in might
ongiten hæfdon.	1570	had understood.
Gewát he þá féran		Then set he out to go
swá him freá mihtig		as him the mighty Lord
scippend wera		the creator of men
gescrifen hæfde,		had appointed,
ofer mearcwaðu,	1575	over the boundary paths,
þæt he on Membre becom		till he came over Mamre
beorhte blícan,		brightly to shine,
swá him bebeád meotud,		as him the lord commanded,
þær þa lichoman		where the bodies
lange þrage,	1580	for a long while,
heáhfædera hrá		the corpses of the patriarchs
beheled wæron.		had been concealed.
Hét þá ófslíce		He bade then quickly
upástandan		arise
Habraham and Isaac,	1585	Abraham and Isaac,
æðeling þridan		and third the prince
Jacob of greóte,		Jacob from the sand,
tó godes geþinge,		to commune with God,
sneóme of slæpe þám fæstan.		speedily from their deep sleep.
Hét hie tó þám síðe gyrwan,		He bid them make ready for
		the journey,
faran tó freán dóme,		go at the Lord's command,
sceoldon hie þám folce gecýðan,		they were to announce to the
hwá æt frumsceaft		who in the beginning [people,

furðum teóde		first produced
eorðan ealgréne	1595	the earth all green
and uphefon,		and lofty heaven,
hwær se wealdend wære		who the ruler were
þe þæt weorc staðolade.		that that work established.
Ne dorston þá gelettan		Then dared they not delay
leng ówihte	1600	any longer
wuldorceyninges word :		the word of the glorious king :
geweoton þá þa witigan þrý		then went the three prophets
móðige mearcland tredan,		boldly to tread the march-land,
forlæton moldern		leaving the house of earth
wunigean open eorðscræfu :		the grave stand open :
woldon hie ædre gecýðan		they would at once proclaim
frumweorca fæder.		the father of creation's works.
þá þæt folc gewearð		Then was the people
egesán geáclod,		terrified with fear,
þær þa æðelingas	1610	when the nobles
wordum weorðodon		glorified with words
wuldres aldor.		the prince of glory.
Hie þá ricene hét		Them then quickly commanded
rices hirde,		the shepherd of power,
tó eádwelan,	1615	to their wealth of joy,
óðre stðe		a second time
sêcan mid sibbe		in peace to seek
swegles dreámas,		the joys of heaven,
and þær tó wídan feore		and there for ever
willum neótan.	1620	at will to enjoy them.
Nú þú miht gehýran,		Now mayst thou hear,
hyse leófesta,		dearest of men,
hú he wundra worn		how he a multitude of miracles
wordum cýðde,		in words proclaimed,
swá þeáh ne gelyfdon	1625	yet believed not
lárúm sínum		in his lore
móðblinde men.		the men blind of mood.
Ic wát manig nú gyt		I know yet many

micel mære spell,		a great and mighty tale,
þe se maga fremede,	1630	that the man performed,
rodera rædend,		the ruler of the heavens,
þa þu áræfnan ne miht,		which thou canst not equal,
hræðre behabban,		in thy breast comprehend,
hygeþances gleáw.		wise of thought, as thou art."
þús Andreas	1635	Thus Andrew
ondlangne dæg		the whole day long
herede hleoðorcwidum		praised in his discourse
háliges láre,		the doctrine of the holy one,
oððæt hine semninga		until him suddenly
slæp ofereóde,	1640	sleep invaded,
on hrónræde,		on the whale's path,
heofoncynge néh.		nigh to the king of heaven.
þa gelædan hét		Then commanded to lead
lifes brytta,		the giver of life,
ofer ýða geþræc	1645	over the tumult of the waves
englas síne,		his angels,
fæðmum ferigean,		in their bosoms to bear,
on fæder wære,		in the protection of the father,
leófne mid lissum		the dear one peacefully
ofer lagufæsten,	1650	over the stronghold of the waves,
oððæt sæwérige		until the sea-weary
slæp ofereóde.		sleep invaded.
þurh lyftgelác		Through motion through the air
on land becwom		to land he came
tó þære ceastre,	1655	unto the city,
þe him cyning engla		which him the king of angels
* * *		* * *
* * *		* * *
þa þa áras sfðigean		then the messengers departed
eáðige on upweg,		joyfully on their upward way,
éðles neósan.	1660	to visit their home.
Léton þone hálgan		They left the saint
be herestræte		by the highway

swefan on sibbe,		sleeping in peace,
under swegles hleo,		under the vault of heaven,
blifone bidan,	1665	joyfully abiding,
burhwealle neh,		near the city wall,
his niðhetum,		his foes,
nihtlangne fyrst :		a whole night long :
oððæt dryhten forlét		until that the Lord permitted
dæg-candelle	1670	the day-torch
scíre scinan :		bright to shine :
sceadu sweðerodon		darkness subsided
wonn under wolcnum,		wan under the welkin,
þa com wederes blæst,		then came the storm-blast,
hådor heofonleoða	1675	the serene heaven-light
ofer hofu blícan.		shining over the dwellings.
Onwóc þa wíges heard,		Then awoke the bold in war,
wang sceáwode		he observed the plain
fore burggeatum,		before the city gates,
beorgas steápe	1680	the steep hills
hleóðum hlifodon		loftily impended
yambe hárne stán,		about the hoary stone,
tigelfágan trafu,		dwellings bright with tiles,
torras stódon,		towers stood,
windige weallas.	1685	windy walls.
þa se wís oncneow		Then the wise man knew
þæt he Marmedonia		that he of Mermedonia
mægðe hæfde		had the land
stíðe gesóhte,		in journey reached,
swá him sylf bebeád,	1690	as he himself had commanded
þám him foregescráf,		who had predestined him,—
fæder mancynnes.		the father of mankind.
Geseh he þa on greóte		Then saw he on the sand
gingran stne,		his disciples—
beornas beadurófe,	1695	men famous in war—
birihthe him		before him
swefan on slæpe.		slumbering in sleep.

He sôna ongann  
 wígend weccéan,  
 and wordê cwæð :  
 Ic eow secgan mæg,  
 sôð orgete,  
 þæt ús gístran dæge  
 on geofones streám,  
 ofer árwelan,  
 æðeling ferede.  
 In þám ceóle wæs  
 cýninga wuldor,  
 waldend weorðode ;  
 ic his word oncneow,  
 þéh he his mægwlite  
 bemiðen hæfde.  
 Him þa æðelingas  
 ondsweorodon,  
 geonge gencwidum,  
 gástgerýnum :  
 We þe Andreas  
 eáde gecýðað  
 síð úserne,  
 þæt þú sylfa miht  
 ongitan gleawlice  
 gástgehygdum.  
 Us sâwêrige  
 slêp ofereóde ;  
 þa côm on earnas  
 ofer ýða wylm  
 on flyhte,  
 feðerum hrémige,  
 ús of slêpendum  
 sâwle ábrugdon,  
 mid gefeán feredon  
 flyhte on lyfte,

He soon began  
 to wake the warriors,  
 and in words he said :  
 “ I may say to you,  
 a recognizable truth,  
 that us yesterday  
 on the ocean-stream—  
 over the realm of oars—  
 a noble one conducted !  
 In the ship was  
 the glory of kings,  
 the ruler honored us ;  
 I recognized his words,  
 though he his beauty  
 had concealed.”  
 Him the noble ones  
 answered,  
 the young men with response,  
 in the mysteries of spirit :  
 “ We to thee Andrew  
 joyfully proclaim  
 our adventure,  
 that thou mayst thyself  
 prudently understand it  
 in the thoughts of thy spirit.  
 Us weary with the sea  
 sleep invaded ;  
 then came eagles  
 over the fervor of the waves  
 in flight,  
 exulting in their wings,  
 from us asleep  
 our soul they parted,  
 with joy they conveyed it  
 in flight through the sky,



brehtum blifðe,		joyous with clamor,
beorhte and liðe,		bright and gentle,
lissum lufodon ;	1735	kindly they caressed it ;
and hi lofe wunedon		and they in glory abode
þær wæs singal sang		where was eternal song [ment,
and swegles gong,		and the motion of the firma-
wlitig weoroda heáp		a beauteous throng of multi-
and wuldres þreat :	1740	and glorious troop : [tudes
útan ymbe æðelne		without, around the noble one
englas stódon,		angels stood,
þegnas ymb þeóden		thanes around their prince
þusendmælum :		by thousands at a time :
heredon on héhðo	1745	they glorified on high
hálgan stefne		with holy voice
dryhtna dryhten ;		the Lord of lords ;
dreám wæs on hyhte ;		there was joy in hope ;
we þær heáhfæderas		there we the patriarchs
hálige óncneówon,	1750	holy recognized,
and martyra		and of the martyrs
mægen unlytel :		no little power :
sungon sigedryhtne		to the Lord of Victory they sung
sóðfæstlic lof,		soothfast praise,
dugoð dómgeorne.	1755	they, noble lovers of justice.
Ðær wæs David mid,		There was David with them,
eádig oreтта,		the blessed champion,
Essages sunu,		the son of Jesse,
for Crist cumen,		come before Christ,
cýning Israhéla ;	1760	the king of Israel ;
swylce we geségon		also we beheld
for suna meotudes,		before the Son of God,
æðelum écne,		eternal in nobility,
eówic standan		you to stand
twelfe getealde,	1765	twelve in number,
tíreádig hælæð ;		heroes blessed with glory ;
eów þegnodon		holy archangels

þrymsittende		served you
hálige heáhenglas :		sitting in glory :
þám bið hæleða well	1770	well is it for those men
þe þára blissa		who those blisses
brúcan móton.		may enjoy !
Ðær wæs wuldres wynn,		There was the pleasure of glory,
wigendra þrym,		the majesty of warriors,
æðelfc onginn,	1775	noble beginning,
næs þær ænigum gewinn.		nor there had any one toil.
Ðám bið wræcstð witod,		Misery shall be his lot,
wíte geopenad,		punishment revealed,
þe þára (gefeána) seal		who to those joys shal
fremde weorðan,	1780	be a stranger,
hefn hwearfian,		shall depart humiliated,
þonne heonon gangað.		when from hence he goes.”
Þá wæs módsefa		Then was the mind
miclum geblissod		greatly pleased
háliges on hréðre,	1785	of the saint in his breast,
siððan hleoðorcwide		after the discourse
gingran gehýrde,		of his disciples he heard,
þæt hie god wolde		in that God would them
onmunan swá micles		so much regard
ofer menn ealle,	1790	above all men,
and þæt word gecwæð		and this word spake
wigendra hleo :		the refuge of warriors :
Nú ic, god dryhten,		“ Now I, Lord God,
ongiten hæbbe		have understood
þæt þú on faroðstræte	1795	that thou upon the sea-street
feor ne wære,		wert not far from us,
cyninga wuldor,		Glory of kings,
þá ic on ceól gestáh ;		when I mounted the ship ;
þéh ic on ýðfare		though I on the sea-journey
engla þeóden,	1800	the Prince of angels,
gásta geóccend		the Saviour of souls
ongitan ne cûðe.		could not recognize.

<p>Weorð me nû milde meotud ælmihtig, bliðe beorht cyning. Ic on brimstreáme spræc worda worn ; wát æfter nû, hwá me wyrðmyndum on wudubáte ferede ofer flódas : þæt is frófre gást hæleða cynne ; þær is help gearu milts æt mærum, manna gehwylcum sigorspéd geseald, þám þe séceð tó him. Ðá him fore eágum onsýne wearð æðeling oðfýwed in þá ilcan tíð, cyning cwícera gehwæs þurh cnihtes háð. Ðá he wordé cwæð, wuldres aldor : Wes þú Andreas hál, mid þas willgedryht, ferðgefeonde ; ic þe friðe healde, þæt þe ne mótton māngeniðlan, grame grynsmiðas, gāste gesceððan. Feóll þá tó foldan, freoðo wilnode wordum wís hæleð ;</p>	<p>1805</p> <p>1810</p> <p>1815</p> <p>1820</p> <p>1825</p> <p>1830</p> <p>1835</p>	<p>Be now merciful to me O Almighty God, blithe, bright king. I on the ocean-stream spake many words ; now afterwards I know, who me with honor on the wood-boat conveyed over the floods : that is the spirit of consolation to the race of men ; there is help ready [one, mercy at the hand of themighty to every man speed of victory given, who seeketh it from him !” Then before his eyes became visible a noble one revealed in that same time, the king of all things living in the form of a youth. Then he spake in words, the Prince of Glory : “ Hail to thee Andrew, with this dear band, rejoicing in spirit ; I will hold covenant with thee, that for thee may not the wicked enemies, the fierce snare-makers, thy soul oppress.” He fell then to earth, peace implored the wise man with words ;</p>
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winedryhten frægn :	his dear lord he asked :
Hû geworhte ic þæt,	“ How could I do that,
waldend fira,	1840 Ruler of men,
synnig wið seolfne	sinning against the very
sâwla nergend,	Saviour of souls,
þæt ic þe, swâ gôdne,	that I thee, so good,
ongitan ne meahte	could not recognize
on wægfare,	1845 on our sea-journey,
þær ic worda gespræc	where I of my words
mînra for meótude	spake before God
mâ þonne ic sceólde.	more than I ought ? ”
Him andswarode	Him answered
ealwalda god :	1850 Almighty God :
No þû swâ swiðe	“ Thou didst not
synne gefremedest,	so great a sin,
swâ þû in Achæia	as when thou in Achæa
ondsæc dydest,	madest denial,
þæt þû on feor wegæs	1855 that thou on distant ways
fêran ne cûðe,	knewest not to go,
nê in þâ ceastre	nor into the city
becuman meahte,	mightest come,
þing gehêgan,	to hold the council,
þreora nihta	1860 of three nights
fyrstgemearces,	of the appointed time,
swâ ic þe fêran hêt	as I bid thee go
ofer wêga gewinn ;	over the dash of waves ;
wâst nû þe gearwor	now thou the better knowest
þæt ic eáðe mæg	1865 that I may easily
ánra gehwylcne	advance and further
fremman and fyrðran	every one
fréonda mînra,	of my friends,
on landa gehwylc	on any land
þær me leófast bið ;	1870 that may best please me ;
áris nû hrædlíce,	arise now quickly,
ræd ædre ongit,	at once understand my counsel,

beorn gebledsod,		blessed man,
swá þe beorht fæder		so thee the bright Father
geweorðað wuldorgifum	1875	may dignify with glorious gifts
tô wídan aldre,		to all eternity,
cræfte and mihte.		with craft and might.
Ðú in þa ceastre gong,		Thou go into the city,
under burglocan,		under the burgh-locks,
þær þín bróðor is.	1880	where thy brother is.
Wát ic Matheus		I know Matthew
purh mænra hand		through the hands of sinful men
hrínan heorudolgum		to be touched with sword-
heáfodmagan		thy dear relative [wounds,
searonettum beseted ;	1885	beset with nets of snares ;
þú hine sécan scealt,		thou shalt seek him,
leófne álýsan		release the beloved one
of láðra hete,		from the hate of foes,
and eal þæt manegu		and all that multitude
be him mid wunige	1890	that dwells with him
ælpeódigra		of strangers
inwitwrasnum,		in hostile chains,
bealuwe gebundene,		miserably bound,
him sceal bót hraðe		to them shall reparation soon
weorðan in worulde,	1895	be made in the world
and in wuldre leán,		and reward in glory,
swá ic him sylfum ær		as I before to himself
segende wæs.		was saying.
Nú þú Andreas scealt		Now shalt thou Andrew
edre genéðan	1900	forthwith venture
in gramra gripe,		into the grasp of foes,
is þe gúð weotod		to thee is war predestined
heardum heoruswengum,		with hard sword-blows,
sceal þín hrá dælan,		thy body shall part,
wundum weorðan	1905	through wounds it shall become
wættre gelicost,		likeliest unto water,
faran flóde blóð ;		thy blood shall flow in streams ;

hie þīn feorh ne magon		they thy life may not
deáðe gedælan,		deal to death,
þéh þú drype þolie,	1910	though thou suffer stripes,
synnigra slage.		the blows of the guilty.
Ðú þæt sár áber,		Do thou endure that sorrow,
ne læt þe áhweorfan		let not turn thee away
háðenra þrym		the power of the heathen
grim gárgewinn,	1915	their grim javelin-clashing,
þæt þú gode swice		that thou shrink from God
dryhtne þīnum.		thy Lord.
Wes á dômes georn,		Be ever emulous of glory,
læt þe on gemyndum		keep in thy remembrance
hú þæt manegum wearð	1920	how that was among many
fira gefrege		men well-known
geond feala landa,		throughout many lands,
þæt me bysmredon,		that me reviled,
bennum fæstne,		bound fast with wounds,
weras wansælige ;	1925	unblest men ;
wordum tyrgdon,		with words they abused me,
slôgon and swungon ;		they struck and scourged me ;
synnige ne mihton		sinful they might not
þurh sárwide		through injurious speech
sóð gecýðan,	1930	the truth make known,
þá ic mid Iudéum		when I among the Jews
gealgan þéhte :		the cross covered :
rôd wæs áræred,		the rood was reared,
þær rinca sum		then a certain man
of mīnre sídan	1935	from my side
swát út forlét,		let out the blood,
dreór tó foldan.		the gore upon the ground.
Ic ádreáh feala		I suffered many
yrmda ofer eorðan ;		miseries on earth ;
wolde ic eow on þon,	1940	it was my will for you thus,
þurh bláðne hyge,		through my merciful mind,
bysne onstellan,		to set up an example,

swá on ellþeode		as on this foreign land
ŷwed wyrðeð.		shall be made manifest.
Manige sindon	1945	Many are there
in þisse mæran byrig		in this famous city
þara þe þú gehweorfest		whom thou shalt turn
tó heofonleóhte,		to the light of heaven,
þurh mînne naman,		through my name,
þeáh hie morðres feala	1950	though they much slaughter
in fyrndagum		in days of old
gefremed habben.		have done."
Gewát him þá se halga		Then departed the holy one
heofonas sêcan,		to seek the skies,
eallra cyninga cyning,	1955	the King of all kings, to seek
þone clænan hâm		the pure home
eáðmêdum upp,		with happiness aloft,
þær is ár gelang		where bliss is along
fira gehwylcum		of every man
þâm þe hie findan cann.	1960	who can find it.
Ðá wæs gemyndig,		Then was mindful,
móðgeþyldig,		patient of mood,
beorn beaduwe heard ;		the man stout in battle ;
eóde in burh hraðe		quickly went into the burgh
ánræd oretta	1965	the steadfast champion
elne gefyrðred ;		advanced with valour ;
maga móde róf,		the man famous of mood,
meotude getreówe,		faithful to his lord,
stóp on stræte ;		stepped on the street ;
stíg wísode :	1970	the road directed him :
swá him nânig gumena		so him none of men
ongitan ne mihte,		might recognize,
synfulra geseón ;		none of the sinful see ;
hæfde sigora weard		the lord of triumphs had
on þâm wangstede	1975	upon the plain
wære betolden		fenced with protection
leófne leóðfruman,		the dear chieftain,

mid lofe snum.		with his praise.
Hæfde þá se æðeling		Then had the noble
ingeprunge,	1980	pressed in,
Cristes cempa,		Christ's champion,
carcerne neh.		nigh unto the dungeon.
Geseh he hæðenra		He beheld of the heathen
hlôð ætgædere,		a troop together,
fore hlindura	1985	before the doors
hyrdas standan,		watchmen standing,
seofone ætsomne :		seven together :
ealle swylt fornam,		death tore them all away,
druron dômlæse,		hapless they fell,
deaðræs forfeng,	1990	the death-rush clutched them,
hæleð heorodreorig.		a hero dropping blood !
Ða se hálga gebæd		Then the saint implored
bilwítne fæder,		the pious father,
breóstgehygdum		in the thoughts of his breast
herede on hêhðo	1995	he praised on high
heofoncyniges		of heaven's king,
god dryhten dôm.		of God the lord the glory.
Dura sôna onarn		Soon he attacked the door
þurh handhríne		through hand-touch
háliges gâstes,	2000	of the holy ghost,
ond þær in eóde		and entered there
elnes gemyndig,		mindful of valour,
hæle hildedeór.		the man a beast of battle.
Hæðene swæfon		The heathen slept
dreóre druncne,	2005	drunken with blood,
deaðwang ridon.		the death-plain they rode.
Geseh he Matheus		He saw Matthew
in þám morðorcofan,		in the den of death,
hæleð hygerófne		the hero famous of mind
under heólstorlocan	2010	within the gloomy locks
secgan dryhtne lof,		singing praise to the Lord,
dómweorðinga		glory



engla þeódne.		to the King of angels.
He þær ána sæt		He sat there alone
geoðum geomor	2015	sad of mind
im þám gnornhofe.		in the cave of malice. [mament
Geseh þær under swegle		He saw there beneath the fir-
swæsne geféran,		his dear comrade,
hálig háligne ;		holy the holy one ;
hyht wæs geniwad.	2020	hope was renewed.
Arás þá tógenes,		He arose then to meet him,
gode þancade		he thanked God
þæt þe hie onsunde		that they each other in safety
æfre móston		ever might
geseón under sunnan ;	2025	behold beneath the sun ;
sib wæs gemæne		peace was between
bám þám gebróðrum,		both the brethren,
blis edniwe ;		joy renewed ;
æghwæðer óðerne		each the other
earme beþehte,	2030	with his arm embraced,
cyston hie and clypton ;		they kissed and clipped each
Criste wæron begen		to Christ were both [other ;
leófe on móde.		dear in mood.
Hie leóht ymbscán		The light shone round them
hálig and hefontorht,	2035	holy and heaven-bright,
hrêðer innan wæs		the breast within
wynnum áwelled.		bubbled with joy.
Ðá wordé ongan		Then with words began
ærest Andreas		Andrew first
æðelne geféran,	2040	his noble comrade,
on clustorcleofan		in the prison-house
mid cwide sínum,		with his word,
grétan godfyrhtne ;		to greet, the fearer of God ;
sæde him gúðgeðingu,		he told him the compact of war,
feohtan fâra monna :	2045	the battle of the foes :
Nú is þín folc on luste		“Now doth thy people desire
hæleð hider on * *		the heroes hither * *

\* \* gewyrht

\* \* \* \*

eardes neósan.

Æfter þissum wordum

wuldres þegnas,

begen þá gebróðor

tó gebede hyldon,

sendon hira bêne

fore bearn godes,

swylce se hálga

in þám hearmlocan

his god grétte,

and him geóce bæd,

hælend helpe

æþon hrá crunge

fore hæðenra

hildeþrymme ;

ond þá gelædde

of leoðobendum,

frám þám fæstenne

on frið dryhtnes,

tú and hundteontig

geteled ríme,

swylce feowertig

\* \* \*

generede fram níðe.

Ðær he nænige forlet

under burglocan

bendum fæstne,

né þær wífa þá gyt,

weorodes tó-eácan,

ânes wana

\* \* \*

\* \* \* \*

\* \* þe fiftig

\* \* \*

\* \* \*

2060 their native land to seek."

After these words

the servants of glory,

the two brethren

bent down to prayer,

2065 they sent their petition

before the Son of God,

also the holy one

in the place of torment

addressed his God,

2060 and prayed to him for aid,

his Saviour for help

before his body should fall

before the heathens'

warlike prowess ;

2065 and then led forth

from the fetters,

from the prison

into the Lord's protection,

two and a hundred

2070 told by number,

also forty

\* \* \*

saved from malice.

There he left not one

2075 under the city-locks

fast in bonds,

nor yet of the women,

the increase of the troop,

wanting one

2080 \* \* \*

\* \* \*

\* \* fifty

forhte gefreoðode ;		from terror freed ;
fægen wæron siðes,		glad were they of their journey,
lungre leordon,	2085	quickly they departed,
nalas leng bidon		not longer did they await
in þam gnornhufe		in the house of sorrow
gûðgeþingo.		the settlement of war.
Gewât þa Matheus		Then Matthew went
menigo lædan	2090	to lead the multitude
on gehyld godes,		into God's protection,
swâ him se hâlga bebeád,		as the holy one commanded,
weorod on wilstð		his troop on their welcome
wolcnum beþehte,		concealed by a cloud, [journey
þê læs him scyldhâtan	2095	lest him the accusers
scyððan cõmon		might come to injure
mid earhfare,		with sending round of the arrow,
ealdgenfðlan.		their old foes. [gether
Ðær þa mõdigan mid him		There the courageous ones to-
mæðel gehêdon,	2100	held converse,
treowgeþoftan,		the true comrades, [another.
æ̅r hie on tu hweorfon.		ere they departed from one
Ægðer þara eorla		Each of the men
ððrum trymede		confirmed in the others
heofonrices hyht,	2105	the hope of heaven's kingdom,
helle witu		the pains of hell
wordum werede.		with words kept off.
Swâ þa wigend mid him,		So the warriors with them,
hæleð hygerõfe,		the men noble of mood,
hâlgum stefnum	2110	with holy voices,
cempan coste		the choice champions
cyning weorðodon		glorified the king
wyrda waldend,		the ruler of fates,
þæs wuldres ne bñð		of whose glory shall not
æfre mid eldum	2115	ever in the ages
ende befangen.		the end be comprised.
Gewât him þa Andreas		Then went Andrew

inn on ceastre		into the city
glædmôd gangan,		glad of mood, [cruel ones,
tó þæs þe he gramra gemôt,		thither where he a meeting of the
fâra folcmægen,	2121	a general assembly of the foes,
gefrægen hæfde ;		had heard of ;
oððæt he gemette		until he found
be mearcpaðe		by a border-path
standan strâte neáh	2125	standing near the road
stapul ârenne.		a brazen pillar.
Gesæt him þá be healfe,		He sat him there beside,
hæfde hluttre lufan,		pure love had he,
êce upgemynd		eternal remembrance of heaven
engla blisse ;	2130	the bliss of angels ;
þanon basnode		thence he awaited
under burhlocan		within the city's enclosure
hwæt him guðweorca		what deed of warfare
gifeðe wurde.		should befall him.
Þa gesamnedon	2135	Then collected
sîde hêrigeas		their wide bands
folces frumgâras		the leaders of the people
tó þâm fæstenne,		unto the fortress,
wârleásra werod ;		the troop of false ones ;
wæpnum cômôn	2140	with weapons came
hæðne hildfreca,		the heathen warriors, [fore
tó þæs þe hæftas âr		because their captives there be-
under hlinscûwan		in the dark shadow
hearm þrôwedon.		had suffered anguish.
Wêndon and woldon,	2145	They thought and would,
wiðerhycgende,		apostates as they were,
þæt hie on elpeódigum		upon the strangers
æt geworhton,		make their meal,
weotude wiste ;		their appointed feast ;
him seó wên geleáh,	2150	their hope deceived them !
siððan mid corðre		since with their troop
carcernes dura		the prison-doors

eorre æsberend		the fierce spear-bearers
opene fundon,		found open,
onhliden hamera geweorc		undone the work of hammers,
hirdas deáde.	2155	dead the keepers.
Hie þá unhydige		They then sad-minded
eft gecyrdon		back returned
luste belorene,		deprived of their desire,
láðspell beran ;	2160	to bear sad tidings ;
sægdon þám folce		they told the people
þæt þær feorrcundra,		that of the strangers there,
ellreordigra,		the foreigners,
ænigne tó láfe		not one remaining
in carcerne	2165	in the prison
cwícne ne mëtton ;		alive they found ;
ac þær heorodreórige		but there bloody
hirdas lægon		the keepers lay
gæsne on greóte,		pale on the sand,
gáste berofene	2170	of life deprived
fægra flæschaman.		the carcasses of the slain.
Þa wearð forht manig		Then was terrified many
for þám færspelle		a leader of the people
folces ræswa,		at the sudden news,
heán hygegeómor,	2175	shamed, sad of mood,
hungres on wénum		in expectation of hunger
blátes beódgæstes ;		a pale guest at the table ;
nyston beteran ráð		they knew no better counsel
þonne hie þá behlidenan		than the dead
him to lífnere	2180	for the support of their own lives
geformedon ;		to feed on ;
duruþeguum wearð		for the doorkeepers was
in áne tíð		in one hour
eallum ætsomne		for all at once
þurh heard gelác	2185	through hard fortune
hildbedd stýred.		the deathbed spread.
Ðá ic lungre gefrægn		Then I learned at once

leóde tósomne		that the people together
burgwaru bannan ;		the citizens were summoned ;
beornas cōmon,	2190	the men came,
wiggendra þreát,		a troop of warriors,
wiggum gengan		riding on horses
on mearum móðige,		proudly on steeds,
mæðelhegende,		counselling together,
æscum dealle.	2195	proud with their spears.
þā wæs eall geador		Then was together
tō þām þingstede		in the public place
þeód gesamnod ;		the people collected ;
lêton him þā betweonum		they let between them
tân wisian	2200	the lot decide
hwylcne hira ærest		which of them first
ôðrum sceolde		should to the rest
tō fôddurþege		for food
feores ongildan ;		his life give up ;
hluton hellcræftum	2205	they cast lots with hellish power
hæðengildum,		before the heathen gods,
teledon betwinum.		they counted between them.
Ðā se tân gehwearf		Then went the lot
efne ofer ænne		even over one
ealdgestða,	2210	of the old comrades,
se wæs uðweota		who was a councillor
eorla dugoðe,		to the princes of the nobles,
heriges on ôre ;		a leader of the host ;
hraðe siððan wearð		soon was he
fetorwrasnum fæst	2215	fast bound in fetters
feores orwêna.		without hope of life.
Cleopode þā collenferhð		Then called out the fierce-
cearegan reorde,		with sad speech, [minded man
cwæð he his sylfes suna		said he his own son
syllan wolde	2220	would give
on æhtgeweald,		into the general power,
eaforan geóngne,		his young offspring,

lifes tó lisse.		to redeem his own life.
Hie þa lác hraðe		They the offer soon
þégon tó þance ;	2225	thankfully accepted ; [sirous,
þeód wæs oflysted,		the people were earnestly de-
metes môdgeómre,		mourning for meat,
næs him tó mãðme wynn		no joy had they in treasure
hyht tó hordgestreónum,		no hope in hoarded wealth,
hungre wæron	2230	with hunger were they
þearle geþreatod,		fiercely oppressed,
swá se þeódsceaða		so the mighty plague
hreów ricsode.		fiercely ruled.
þá wæs rinc manig,		Then was many a warrior,
guðfrec guma,	2235	man fierce in war,
ymb þæs geongan feorh		about the young man's life
breóstum onbryrded		in breast excited
tó þám beaduláce ;		to the battle play ;
wæs þæt weátácen		the fatal token was
wíde gefrege,	2240	widely famous,
geond þa burh bodad		throughout the town proclaimed
beorne manegum,		to many a man,
þæt hie þæs cnihtes cwealm		that they the young man's death
corðre gesóhton		in troops should seek
duguðe and eógoðe,	2245	with young and old,
dæł onfêngon		should take their part
lifes tó leofne.		for the support of life.
Hie lungre tó þæs,		They therefore at once,
hæðene heargweardas,		the heathen idolators,
here samnodon	2250	collected a troop
ceasterwarena ;		of the citizens ;
cym upp ástáh.		their noise went up.
þá se geónga ongann		Then the youth began
geómran stefne,		with voice of lamentation,
gehafted for herige,	2255	chained before the troop,
hearmleóð galan,		a song of anguish to sing,
freónda feásceaft		deprived of friends

friðes wilnian ;		to beg for mercy ;
né mihte earmsceapen		nor might the poor wretch
Are findan	2260	find pity [people,
freoðe æt þām folce,		or peace at the hands of the
þe him feores wolde		which would life
ealdres geunnan ;		or existence grant him ;
hæfdon æglæcan	2265	the wretches had
sæcce gesôhte,		chosen hostility,
sceolde sweordes ecg,		the sword's edge should,
scerp and scûrheard,		sharp and hard with scouring,
of sceaðan folme,		in the hands of the foe,
fýrmælum fâg,	2270	variegated with marks of fire,
feorh âcsigan.		seek out the life.
Ðâ þæt Andrea		Then that to Andrew
earmlíc þûhte,		seemed pitiful,
þeóðbealo þearlíc		a general evil hard
tó geþolianne,		to bear,
þæt he swâ unscyldig	2275	that he so innocent
ealdre sceolde		from life should
lungre linnan.		so soon depart.
Wæs se leóðhete		The general hate was
þrôthheard . . . . .		savage . . . . .
þrymman sceócon	2280	heavy shook
móðige maguþegnas		moody warriors
morðres on luste,		lusting for murder,
woldon æninga		they would at once
ellenrófe,		famous for valour,
on þām hysebeorðre	2285	on the caul
heafolan gescénan,		the skin wound,
garúm ágeótan ;		with javelins pour out ;
hine god forstóð		him God defended
hálig of hêhðo		holy from above
hæðenum folce ;	2290	against the heathen people ;
hét wæpen werá,		he commanded the weapons of
wexe gelícóst,		likest unto wax, [the men,



on þam orlege		in the onset
eall formeltan,		all to melt away,
þý læs scyldhatan	2295	lest the foes
sceaðan mihton,		might injure him,
egle ondsacan		the terrible apostates
ecga þryðum.		with the edges of swords.
Swá wearð alýsed		Thus was rescued
of leódhete	2300	from the popular hate
geóng of gyrne ;		the youth from his misery ;
gode ealles þanc		all thanks be to God
dryhtna dryhtne,		the Lord of lords,
þæs þê he dôm gifeð		because he giveth justice
gumena gehwylcum	2305	to every man
þara þe geóce to him		that aid from him
séceð mid snytrum ;		wisely seeketh ;
þær bið symle gearu		there will be ever ready
freónd unhwílen		an eternal friend
þam þe hie findan eann.	2310	for him who can find him.
þá wæs wóp hæfen		Then was weeping uplifted
in wera burgum,		in the towns of men,
hlúd heriges cyrm,		the loud outcry of the host,
hreópon friccan,		heralds shouted,
mændon meteleafste,	2315	they moaned the famine,
mêðe stódon		weary they stood
hungre gehæfte.		with hunger bound.
Hornsalu wunedon		The spired halls remained
wéste wínræced,		the winehouses empty,
welan ne benohton	2320	wealth needed not
beornas tó brúcanne		the men to enjoy
on þa bítran tíð ;		in that bitter tide ;
gesæton searuþancle		the wise of thought sat
sundor tó rúne		apart in council
ermðu eahtigan,	2325	their misery to investigate,
næs him tó éðle wynn ;		they had no pleasure in the
fregn þá gelóme		then often asked [land ;

freca ððerne ;		one warrior the other ;
Ne hele se þe hæbbe		“Let him not hide it who hath
holde lāre,	2330	a beneficial counsel,
on sefan snyttro.		wisdom in mind !
Nú is sǣl cumen,		Now is the occasion come,
þreá ormǣte ;		an immeasurable plague ;
is nú þearf micel		now is it very needful
þæt we wísfæstra	2335	that we of the wise
wordum hýran.		the words should obey !”
Þá for þære dūgoðe		Then before the chiefs
deoful ætýwde,		a devil appeared,
wann and wíteleás		wan and colourless
hæfde wériges hīw.	2340	he had the look of one accursed.
Ongan þá meldigan		Then began to point out
morþres brytta		the prince of murder,
helle hinca,		the hate of hell,
þone halgan wer,		the holy man,
wíðerhygende	2345	with hostile thought
and þæt word gecwæð :		and these words said :
Hēr is gefēred		“ Hither is come
ofer feorne weg		from a long way off
æðelinga sum		a noble
innan ceastre,	2350	into the city,
ellþeódigra,		a stranger,
þone ic Andreas		whom I Andrew
nemnan hērde ;		heard call ;
? he eow neón gesceód,		he has given you
þá he áfērede	2355	when he bore away
of fæstenne		from your fortress
manncynnes má		more of men
þonne gemét wære ;		than was right ;
nú ge magon eáðe		now may you readily
oncýðdæda	2360	the strange deeds
wrecan on gewyrhtum ;		avenge upon the doer ;
lætað . . . spor		let . . . the spur

iren ecgheard,		iron hard of edge,
ealdorgearð sceoran,		raze the dwelling of life,
fâges feorhhord ;	2365	the soul-hoard of the mortal ;
gâð fromlice		go boldly
þæt ge wiðerfeohentend		that ye your adversary
wiges gehnâgan.		from his war may subdue.”
Him þâ Andreas		To him then Andrew
âgef andsware :	2370	gave answer :
Hwæt þû þristlice		“ Lo thou impudently
þeóde lârest,		teachest the people,
bealdeſt tó beadowe,		encourageſt them to ſtrife,
wâſt þe bæles cwealm		knoweſt that thy death of fire
hâtne in helle,	2375	is hot in hell,
and þû here fyſeſt,		and yet leadeſt a hoſt,
fêðan tó gefeohte ;		a troop to battle ;
eart þû fâg wið god		thou art a foe to God
dugoða dêmend.		the Lord of glories.
Hwæt þû deóflies ſtræl	2380	Lo ! thou ſhaft of the devil
ýceſt þíne yrmðo,		increaſeſt thy miſery,
þe ſe ælmihtiga		wherein thee the Almighty
heánnē gehnâgde,		humble bent down,
and heolſtor beſceáf		and created the darkneſs
þær ſe cyninga cyning	2385	where the King of kings
clamme belegde,		with chains did load thee,
and þe ſiððan â		and thee ever ſince
Sâta nemndon		Satan have called
þa þe dryhtnes â		they who the Lord’s law
dêman cûðon.	2390	could judge.”
Ðâ git ſe wiðermêda		Yet the adverſary
wordum lâerde		taught with words
folc tó gefeohte,		the people to the conteſt,
feóndes cræfte :		with hoſtile craft :
Nû ge gehýrað	2395	“ Now ye hear
hæleða gewinnan,		the foe of your people,
ſe þiſſum herige mæſt		who to this hoſt the greateſt

· hearma gefremede.		harm hath done.
þæt is Andreas		That is Andrew
se me onfliteð	2400	who railleth on me
wordum wrætlicum		with cunning words
for wera menigo.		before the multitude of men!"
Ðā wæs beácen boden		Then was the signal given
burhsittendum ;		to the inhabitants ;
áhleópon hildfrome	2405	bold in war they leaped forth
hêriges brehtme,		with the clamour of a host,
ond tó weallgeatum		and to the wall-gates
wígend þrungon,		the warriors thronged,
céne under cumblum		strong beneath their ensigns
corðré míclé	2410	with a mighty troop
tó þám orlege,		to the onset,
ordum and bordum.		with points and shields.
þā wordé cwæð		Then spake with words
weoroda dryhten,		the Lord of hosts,
meotud mihtum swíð	2415	God strong in might
sægde his magoþegne :		said unto his servant :
scealt þú Andreas		" Thou shalt Andrew
ellen fremman,		accomplish a deed of valour,
ne mífð þú for menigo		shrink not thou from the mul-
ah þínne móðsefan	2420	but thy mind [titude
staðola wið strangum :		strengthen against the strong :
nis seó stund latu,		the time is at hand
þæt þe wælreówe		when thee the savages
wítum belecgað,		with torments will afflict,
cealdan clommum ;	2425	with cold bonds ;
cýð þe sylfne,		manifest thyself,
herd hyge þínne,		harden thy mind,
heortan staðola,		confirm thy heart,
þæt hie mín on þe		that they in thee my
mægen oncnáwan ;	2430	power may recognize ;
ne magon hie and ne móton		they may not and must not
ofer míne ést		against my will

þinne lichoman,		thy body,
lehtum scyldige,		guilty sinners,
deáðe gedálan,	2435	deal to death, [wounds
þeáh þu drype þolige		though thou mayst suffer
myrce manslaga		dark of the slaughterers
ic þe mid wunige.		I abide with thee !''
Æfter þám wordum com		After these words came
werod unmæte,	2440	a measureless multitude,
lyswe lársmeoðas		criminal lore-smiths
mid lindgecróde,		with the ensign of shields,
bolgenmóde		angry of mood
bæron út hræðe		they quickly bore out
and þám hálgan þær	2445	and then the holy man's
handa gebundon.		hands they bound.
Siððon geyped wæs		Then was revealed
æðelinga wynn,		the joy of princes,
and hie andweardne		and they him present
eágum meahton	2450	with their eyes might
gesión sigerófne.		behold victorious.
Þær wæs sec manig		There was many a man
on þám wælwange		upon the fatal plain
wiges oflysted,		lusting for war,
leóða duguðe ;	2455	among the leaders of the people ;
lyt sorgodon		little cared they
hwylc him þæt edleán		what their reward
æfter wurde.		should after be.
Héton þá láðan		Then bid they lead him
ofer landsceare,	2460	over the country,
þrægmælum teón,		to drag him bit by bit,
torngeniðlan,		the angry foes,
swá hie hit frécnost,		as they most furiously
findan meahton ;		could devise ;
drôgon deórmóde	2465	savagely they dragged him
æfter dûnscræfum		through mountain-caverns
ymb stánhleoðo,		about the stone-hills,

stearcedferðe,		hardened of mind,
efne swá wide swá		even as far as
wegas tólægon,	2470	the roads lay before them,
enta ærgeweorc,		the antique work of giants,
innan burgum,		within the towns [stones.
stræte stánfæge.		the street varicoloured with
Storm upp áráð		The storm arose
æfter ceasterhofum,	2475	above the city dwellings,
cirm unlytel		no little uproar
hæðnes heriges ;		of the heathen band ;
wæs þæs hálgan lic		the body of the saint was
sárbennum soden,		with sore wounds sodden,
swáte bestémed,	2480	with blood steamed,
bánhús ábrocen,		the bone-house was broken,
blód yðum weóll		blood flowed in waves
hát of heolfre,		hot from the gore,
hæfde him on innan		yet had he within
ellen untweóðne ;	2485	a courage unwavering ;
wæs þæt æðele mód		the noble mind
ásundrad fram synnum,		was sundered from sin,
þeáh he sáres swá feala		although he so much pain
deópum dolgslegum		through deep and wounding
dreógan sceolde.	2490	was doomed to bear. [blows
Swá wæs ealne dæg		Thus was the whole day long
oððæt æfen cóm		until the evening came
sigeltorht swungen ;		the star-bright one beaten ;
sár eft gewóð		pain went backwards and for- wards
ymb þæs beornes breóst,	2495	about the breast of the man,
oðþæt beorht gewát		until that bright departed
sunne swegeltorht		the sun splendid in the firma-
tó sete glidan.		to glide to its setting. [ment
Læddon þá leóde		Then people led
læðne gewinnan	2500	their hated foe
tó carcerne,		unto the prison,

he wæs Criste swá þeáh		yet was he to Christ
leóf on móde ;		dear in mood ;
him wæs leóht sefa		light was his thought
hálig heortan néh	2505	holy near his heart
hyge untyddre.		a mind unbroken.
Ðá se hálga wæs		Then was the saint
under heólstorscúwan,		in the shadow of darkness,
eorl ellenheard,		warrior hard of courage,
ondlange niht	2510	the whole night long
searþancum beseted ;		with various thoughts beset ;
snáw eorðan band		snow bound the earth
wintergeworpum,		with winter-casts,
weder cóledon		cold grew the storms
heardum hægelscúrum	2515	with hard hail-showers,
swylce hrím and forst,		and rime and frost,
háre hildstapan,		the hoary warriors,
hæleða eðel		locked up the dwellings of men
lucon leóða gesetu ;		the settlements of the people ;
land wæron freórig	2520	frozen were the lands,
cealdum cýlegicelum		with cold icicles
clang wæteres þrym,		shrunk the water's might,
ofer eástreámas		over the river-streams
ís brycgade		the ice made a bridge
bláce brimráde.	2525	a pale water-road.
Blitðheort wunode		Blithe of heart abode
eorl unforcúð		the steadfast man
elnes gemyndig,		mindful of valour,
þrist and þróhtheard		bold and heard of courage
in þreánêdum	2530	in his misery [night ;
wintercealdan niht ;		throughout the cold winter
nó on gewitte blon,		never in his mind ceased he,
ácól for þý egesan,		in fear for the terror,
þæs þe he êr ongann,		as he before began,
þæt he á dômlícóst	2535	ever in the worthiest manner
dryhten herede,		to praise the Lord,

weorðade wordum, oððæt wuldres gim heofontorht onhlád.		to glorify him in words, until the gem of glory bright in the heaven impended.
Ða côm hæleða þreát	2540	Then came the troop of heroes
tô þære dimman ding duguð unlytel, wadan wælgifre weorodes brehtme.		to the dim cave no little power, greedy of slaughter to go with the tumult of a host.
Héton út hræðe	2545	They commanded quickly
æðeling lædan in wráðra geweald, wærfæstne hæleð.		to lead out the noble into the power of foes, the stedfast hero.
Ða wæs eft swâ ær andlangne dæg	2550	Then was he as before the long day through
swungen sárslegum ; swát f̅yðum weóll þurh bāncofan, blód lifrum swealg		beaten with wounding blows ; the blood bubbled in waves through the bone-chest, the blood in the liver swelled
hátan heolfre ;	2555	with hot gore ;
hrá weorces ne sann wundum wêrig.		the body thought not of work weary with wounds.
Ða cwom wôpes hring þurh þæs beornes breóst		Then came the ring of weeping through the man's breast
blât út faran,	2560	faint to proceed,
weóll waðuman streám, and he wordé cwæð :		the stream bubbled in waves, and he said in words :
Geseoh nú, dryhten god, drohtað minne, weoruda willgeofa.	2565	“ Behold now, God my Lord, my condition, O joy-giver of hosts !
Ðû wâst and const ânra gehwylces earfeðsīðas.		[est Thou knowest and understand- of every man the sorrowful times !
Ic gelýfe tô þe, mín liffruma,	2570	I believe in thee, Lord of my life,
þæt þû mildheort me,		that thou mild-hearted,



for þinum mægenspédum,		for thy great power,
nerigend fra		saviour of men
næfre wille,		never wilt,
éce ælmihtig,	2575	eternal almighty God,
ánforlætan ;		desert me ;
swá ic þæt gefremme,		so will I accomplish that,
þenden feorh leofað		as long as my life endureth
mín on moldan,		on earth,
þæt ic, meotud, þinum	2580	that I, O God, thy
larum leófwendum		dear doctrines
lyt geswíce ;		will not shrink from ;
þú eart gescyldend		thou art a defence
wið sceaðan wæpnum,		against the weapons of foes,
éce eádfroma,	2585	eternal prince of joy,
eallum þinum.		for all thy servants !
Ne læt nú bysmrian		Now let not revile
banan mancynnes,		the murderers of men,
fácnes frumbearn,		first-born of crime,
þurh feóndes cræft	2590	through hostile craft,
leahtrum belecgan		with crimes oppress
þa þín lof berað.		them that bear thy praise !”
Ðá þær ætýwde		Then there appeared
se atola gást,		the foul spirit,
wráð wærloga ;	2595	the fierce warlock ;
wígend lárde		he guided the warriors
for þám heremægene,		before the hostile force,
helle dióful		hell’s devil
áwærged in wítum,		cursed in torments,
and þæt word gecwæð :	2600	and spake the word :
Sleað synnigne		“ Smite the sinner
ofer seolfes múð,		over his own mouth,
folces gewinnan,		the people’s foe,
nú tó feala reordað.		now he speaketh too much !”
Þá wæs orlege	2605	Then was the onset
eft onbréred		again commenced

niwan stefne,		with a new voice,
nið upp árás		malice again arose
ðþðæt sunne gewát		until the sun went
tô sete glîdan,	2610	gliding to its setting,
under niðan næs ;		under the dark promontory ;
niht helmæde,		night covered over,
brûn wann oferbræd		brown, wan, it overspread
beorgas steápe,		the steep mountains,
and se hálga wæs	2615	and the holy one was
tô hofe læded,		led to the house,
deór and dómgeorn		dear and virtuous
in þæt dimme ræced ;		to the dim dwelling ;
sceal þonne in neádcofan		there he must in misery's bonds
nihtlangne fyrst	2620	the whole night long
wærfæst wunian		steadfast inhabit
wíc unsýfre.		a foul dwelling.
þá côm seofona sum		Then came with seven more
tô sele geongan		unto the hall
atol æglæca,	2625	the foul wretch,
yfela gemyndig,		mindful of mischief,
morðres mánfreá		murderous lord of crime
myrce gescyrded,		with darkness surrounded,
deóful deáðreów		a savage devil
duguðum bereáfod.	2630	bereft of virtue.
Ongan tô þám hálgan		He began to the holy one
hospword spreca :		to speak words of reviling :
Hwæt hogodest þu, Andreas,		“ What thinkest thou, Andrew,
hidercyme þinne		of thy coming hither
on wráðra geweald.	2635	into the power of thy foes ?
Hwæt is wuldor þin		What is thy glory
þe þú oferhygdum		that in thy pride
upp árærdest,		thou liftedst up,
þá þú goda ussa		when thou of our gods
gilp gehnâgdest ;	2640	the glory wouldst humble ;
hafast nú þe ánum		now hast thou on thyself

eall getihhad		brought all
land and leóde,		the land and people,
swá dyde láreow þín,		as thy teacher did,
cyneþrym áhóf,	2645	he set up kingly pretensions,
þám wæs Crist nama,		who was named Christ,
ofer middangeard		over all the earth
þynden hit meahte swá ;		as long as it was allowed him ;
þone Herodes		him did Herod
ealdre besnyðede,	2650	deprive of life,
forcóm æt campe		he overcame in war
cyning Iudéa,		the king of the Jews,
rices berædde,		deprived him of his realm,
and hine rôde befealg,		and fastened him on a rood,
þæt he on gealgan his	2655	that he upon a gallows
gást onsende.		his spirit gave up.
Swá ic nú bebéode		So do I now command
bearnum mínum		my sons
þegnum þryðfullum		my strong thanes
þæt hie þe hnægon	2660	to humble thee
gingran æt gúðe.		his disciple in war.
Lætað gáres ord,		Let the javelin-point,
earh ættre gemæl,		the arrow stained with poison,
ingedúfan		dig into
in fêges ferð ;	2665	the life of the doomed one ;
gáð fromlice		go boldly
þæt ge gúðfreán		that ye the warrior's
gylp forbégan !		pride may bow !”
Hie wæron reówe		They were fierce,
ræsdon on sóna	2670	soon they rushed on
gífrum grápum ;		with greedy grapplings ;
hine god forstód		God stood before him
staðulfæst steórend		steadfastly guiding him
þurh his strangan miht.		through his mighty power.
Siððan hie oncneowon	2675	After they recognized
Cristes rôde		of Christ's rood

mære tæcen		the mighty token
wurdon hie þa acle,		terrified they became,
on þam onfenge forhte,		afraid of the contest,
and on fleám numen.	2680	and thrown into flight.
Ongan eft swá ær		Then again began as before
ealdgentðla,		the old fiend,
helle hæftling,		hell's captive,
hearmleóð galan :		to sing a mournful song :
Hwæt wearð eow swa rófum,		“ How befell it you so bold,
rincas mine,	2686	my warriors,
lindgesteallan,		my shield-comrades, [little?]”
þæt eow swá lyt gespeow ?		that your success has been so
Earmsceapen		One wretched one
ágef andsware,	2690	made answer,
fáh fyrensceaða,		a varicoloured fiend,
and his fæder oncwæð :		and thus addressed his father :
Ne magon we him lungre		“ We cannot him at all
láð ætfæstan,		afflict with pain,
swylt þurh searwe ;	2696	with death by our snares ;
gá þe sylfa tó,		go thither thyself,
þær þú gegninga		there wilt thou before thee
gúðe findest,		find war,
frécne feohtan,		a savage contest,
gif þú furður dearst	2700	if at all thou darest
tó þam ánhagan		against the solitary
aldre genêðan.		wager thy life !
We þe magon eáðe		We may easily
eorla leófóst,		dearest of earls,
æt þam secgplegan	2706	at the play of men
sêlre gelæran,		teach thee better,
æf þú geninga		before thou again
gúðe fremme,		attempt war,
wiges wóman ;		the rush of battle ;
weald þú þe sêle	2710	guard thyself the better
æt þam gegnslege.		in the change of blows.

Uton gangan eft		Let us go again
þæt we bysmrigen		and revile
bendum fæstne,		him fast in bonds,
oðwiton him his wræcstð ;		let us twit him with his misery ;
habbað word gearu	2716	we have words ready
wið þám æglæcan		against the wretch
eall getrahtod !		all arranged !”
Þá hleoðrade		Then called
hlúdan stefne	2720	with a loud voice
wítum bewæled,		the stained with torments,
and þæt word gecwæð :		and these words spake :
Þú ðe Andreas		“ Thou Andrew
aclæccræftum		with juggling craft
lange fêredes ;	2725	hast long been conversant ;
hwæt þú leóða feala		lo thou many people
forleólce and forlærddest.		hast deceived and seduced !
Nú leng ne miht		Now mayst thou no longer
gewealdan þý weorcé,		have power over thy work,
þe sind wítu þæs grim	2730	to thee such grim torments
weotud be gewyrhtum ;		are adjudged according to thy
		acts ;
þú scealt wêrigmód,		thou shalt, weary of mood,
heán hroðra léas,		degraded and hopeless,
hearm þrówigan,		suffer wretchedness,
sâre swyltcwale ;	2735	sore death ;
secgas mîne		my warriors
tó þám gúðplegan		for the battle-play
gearwe sindon,		are ready,
þá þe æninga		who theæ altogether
ellenweorcum	2740	in deeds of valour
unfyrn fáca		will in little time
feorh ætþringan ;		of life deprive ;
hwylc is þæs mihtig		who is so mighty
ofer middangeard		throughout the earth
þæt he þe álýse	2745	as to release thee

of leoðubendum, manna cynnes ofer mīne est ? Him þā Andreas āgef andsware :		from thy fetters, of the race of men against my will ?” Him then Andrew
2750 Hwæt me eáðe ælmhtig god niða neregend, se þe in niedum iú gefæstnode	2750	an answer gave : “ Lo easily may save me Almighty God the saviour of men, [yore who thee in wretchedness of fastened
fýrnum clommum, þær þú siððan á susle gebunden, in wræc wunne, wuldres blunne ;	2760	with fiery fetters, where thou ever since bound down in torment, hast dwelt in misery, hast been deprived of glory ;
siððan þú forhogodes heofoncyniges word, þær wæs yfles ór, ende næfre	2765	since thou despisedst the word of Heaven’s King, (there was the beginning of evil, never the end
þīnes wræces weorpeð, þú scealt wīðan feorh écan þīne yrmðu ; þe bið á symbles of dæge on dæg drohtað strengra.	2770	of thy misery shall be !) thou shalt for ever increase thy wretchedness ; to all eternity from day to day harder shall be thy condition !”
2775 Ðá wearð on fleáme se þe þa fæðo iú wið god geara grimme gefremede. Cóm þā on uhtan mid ærdæge hæðenra hloð hāliges neósan leóða weorude ; hétan læðan út	2775 2780	Then was driven to flight he who the feud of yore readily against God had grimly undertaken. Then at twilight came with early day a troop of heathens to visit the holy one with a host of men ; they bid lead out

þrohheardne þegn		the courageous thane
þridan sīðe ;		for the third time ;
woldon āninga		they would entirely
ellenrōfes		the bold man's
mōd gemiltan ;	2785	mood subdued ;
hit ne mihte swā.		so it might not be !
Ða wæs neōwinga		Then was anew
nīð onhrêred		malice excited
heard on hete,		hard in hatred,
grim wæs se hālgas wer	2790	fierce was the holy man
sāre geswungen,		with wounds smitten,
searwum gebunden,		with fetters bound,
dolgbennum þurhdrifen,		with wounds pierced through,
þenden dæg lȳhte.		as long as day gave light.
Ongan þā geōmormōd	2795	Then sad of mood he began
tō gode cleopian		to cry to God
heard of hæfte,		hard from his captivity,
hālgas stefne ;		with holy voice ;
weōp wêrigferð		weary of his life he wept
and þæt word gecwæð :	2800	and spake the word :
Næfre ic gefêrde		“ Never did I experience
mid freān willan,		by the Lord's will,
under heofonhwealfe,		under the vault of heaven,
heardran drohtnoð,		a harder treatment,
þær ic dryhtnes æ	2805	where I the law of the Lord
dēman sceolde ;		should judge ;
sint me leoð tōlocen,		my limbs are loosed,
līc sāre gebrocen,		my body broken with pain,
bānhūs blōdfāg,		my bone-house stained with
benna weallað,	2810	my wounds bubble, [blood,
seono dolgswātige.		my sinews sweating blood !
Hwæt þu sigora weard,		Lo ! thou Lord of victory,
dryhten hælend,		Lord Saviour,
on dæges tīde		in the day-time
mid Iudēum	2815	amongst the Jews

geómor wurde,		wert sorrowful,
þá þú of gealgan,		when thou from the cross,
god lifigende		thou living God
fyrnweorca freá,		Lord of creation,
tô fæder cleopodest,	2820	calledst to the Father,
cyninga wuldor,		glory of kings,
and cwæde þus :		and thus didst say :
Ic þe, fæder engla		Father of angels I thee
frignan wille,		will ask,
lifes leóhtfruma,	2825	O Prince of life,
hwæt forlættest þu me ?		why hast thou forsaken me ?
and ic nú þrý dagas		and now for three days I
þolian sceolde		must suffer
wælgrim witu ?		savage torments ?
bidde ic weoroda god	2830	I pray thee God of hosts
þæt ic gást minne		that I my life
ágifan móte,		may yield up,
sáwla symbelgifa,		O joy-giver of souls,
on þines sylfes hand !		into thine own hand !
þú þæt gehéte	2835	Thou didst promise that,
þurh þín hálig word		by thy holy word,
þá þú ús twelfe		when thou us twelve
trymman ongunne,		beganst to confirm,
þæt us heterófra		that us our enemy's
hild ne gesceóde,	2840	war should not injure,
né lices dæl		nor divorce from life
lungre oððeóded,		ever affect us,
né sinu ne bán		nor sinew nor bone
on swaðe lagon,		on swathe should lie,
né loc of heáfde	2845	nor lock from our heads
tô forlore wurde,		be lost,
gif we þine lare		if we thy lore
læstan woldon.		would perform.
Nú sint sionwe tóslowen,		Now are my sinews cramped,
is mín swát áðroven,	2850	now is my blood sprinkled,



licgað æfter lande		throughout the land there lie
loccas tódrifene		my driven locks
fex on foldan ;		my hair upon the ground ;
is me feorhgedál		to me is death itself
leófre miclê	2855	much dearer
þonne þeós lifcearo.		than this life-care !”
Him þá stefn oncwæð		Him then a voice addressed
stíðhycgendum,		proudly thinking,
wuldor cyninges		the King of glory’s
word hleóðrode :	2860	word resounded :
Ne wêp þone wræcstíð		“ Weep not thy wretchedness,
wine leófesta		dearest friend,
nis þe tó frécne ;		too hard it is not for thee ;
ic þe friðe healde		I hold thee in peace
mínre mundbyrde,	2865	in my protection,
mægene besette ;		with strength set thee about ;
me is miht ofer eall		to me is power over all
* * *		* * *
sigorspéd geseald !		and glory of victory given !
Sóð þæt gecýðeð		Truly that shall exhibit
mænig æt meðle	2870	the multitude in our reckoning
on þám miclan dæge,		on the great day,
þæt þæt geweorðeð		that it shall happen
þæt þeós wlitige gesceaft,		that this beauteous creation,
heofon and eorðe		this heaven and earth
hreósað tó gadore,	2875	shall fall together,
ær áwæged sie		ere be removed
worda ænig		any word
þe ic þurh mínne mûð		which I through my mouth
meðlan onginne.		have once spoken.
Geseoh nú seolfes swæðe,	2880	Behold now thine own track,
swá þin swát ágeát		where thy blood poured forth
þurh bängebrec		through the breaking of bones
blóðige stíge,		a bloody path,
líclælan,		the body’s spots,

nô þe lād̄es mā	2885	nothing worse to thee
þurh daroða gedrep		through stroke of darts
gedôn môtôn,		may do
þa þe heardra mæst		they who the worst of hard
hearma gefremedon.		harms inflicted on thee!"
Þá on last beseah	2890	Then looked behind him
leóflíc cempa,		the dear champion,
æfter wordcwidum		after these words
wuldor cyninges ;		of the King of glory ;
geseh he geblówene		he saw blowing
bearwas standan,	2895	bowers stand,
blædum gehrodene		laden with blossoms [spilled.
swá he ær his blóð ágeát.		where he before his blood had
Ða wordé cwæð		Then spake with words
wigendra hleó :		the refuge of warriors :
Sie þe þanc and lof,	2900	"Thanks be to thee and praise
þeóða waldend		Ruler of nations
tó wídan feore		for ever and ever
wuldor on heófonum,		glory in the heavens,
þæs þú me on sære,		that thou me in anguish,
sígedryhten mīn,	2905	my glorious Lord,
ellþeódigne		like a stranger
án ne forlête.		hast not deserted!"
Swá se dædfruma		Thus the prince
dryhten herede		praised the Lord
hálgan stefne,	2910	with holy voice,
oððæt hádor sægl		till the serene constellation
wuldortorht gewát		wondrous bright departed
under scríðan.		again to set.
Þá þa folctogan		Then the leaders of the people
feorðan stíðe,	2915	for the fourth time,
egle ondsacan,		fierce apostates,
æðeling læddon		led the noble
tó þám carcerne ;		to the dungeon ; [power,
woldon cræfta gehygd		they would the thought of

magorædendes	2920	the councillor's
môd oncyrran		mood turn back
on þære deorcan niht.		in the dark night.
þa com dryhten		Then came the Lord
in þæt hlinræced		into that cavern-house
hæleða wuldor,	2925	glory of men,
and þa wine sinne		and there his friend
wordum grætte,		with words he greeted,
and frôfre gecwæð ;		and promised comfort ;
fæder mancynnes,		the Father of mankind,
lîfes lâreow,	2930	teacher of life,
héht his lichoman		commanded his body
háles brúcan : Ne scealt þu		to enjoy safety : [hands
in hendum á leng		“ Thou shalt no longer in the
searohæbbendra		of these armed men
sár þrôwian.	2935	sorrow suffer !”
Arás þa mægene rôf, sægde		Then rose the famed for
		strength, he said
meotude þanc,		thanks to God,
hál of hæfte,		whole from his captivity,
heardra wita ;		of the savage torments ;
næs him gewemmed wlite	2940	neither was his beauty injured,
né wlôh of hrægle		nor a fringe of his garment
lungre álýsed,		even loosened,
né loc of heáfde,		nor a lock of his head,
né bân gebrocen,		nor a bone broken,
né blódig wund	2945	nor bloody wound
lîcgelenge,		belonging to his body,
né láðes dæl		nor any evil
þurh dolgslege		through wounding-blow
dreóre bestémed ;		with blood bestained ;
ac wæs eft swá ær	2950	but he was again as before
þurh þa æðelan miht		through that noble might
lof lædende,		giving praise,
and on his líce trum.		and in his body whole.

Hwæt ic hwfle nû		Lo! I now awhile
hâliges lâre	2955	the lore of the saint
leóðgiddinga lof		the praise of songs
þæs þe worhte		because I wrought
wordum wemde,		in words have spoiled,
wyrd undyrne,		an evident fortune!
ofer mîn gemêt.	2960	beyond my power.
Micel is tó secganne,		Much is it to say,
langsum leornung,		a tedious task,
þæt he in lîfe ádreág		what he endured in life
eall æfter orde;		all in succession;
þæt scell ægleáwra	2965	that must a more learned
mann on moldan		man on earth
þonne ic me tælige		than I repute myself
findan on ferðe,		invent in spirit, [knoweth
þæt fram fruman cunne		who from the beginning
eall þa earfeðo	2970	all the sufferings
þe he mid elnê ádreáh,		that he courageously endured,
grimra gúða.		of fierce wars.
Hwæðre git sceal		Yet will I still
on lytlum sticcum		in little fragments
leóðworda dæl	2975	words of song
furður reccan.		further relate.
Ðæt is fyrn sægen		It was said before
hû he weorna feala		how he a multitude
wíta geþolode		of torments endured
heardra hilda	2980	of hard onsets
in þære hæðenan byrig.		in the heathen town.
He be wealle geseah		He saw by the wall
wundrum fæste		wondrous fast
under sælwange		upon the plain
sweras unlytle	2985	mighty pillars
stapulas standan,		columns standing,
storme bedrifene,		driven by the storm,
eald enta geweorc.		the antique work of giants.

He wið ænne þæra		He with one of them
mihtig and módróf	2990	mighty and strong of mood
mæðel gehêde,		held converse,
wis wundrum gleáw		wise and wondrous prudent
word stunde áhóf :		he raised at once the word :
Gehêr þú marmanstán,		“ Hear thou marble stone,
meotudes ráðum,	2995	by the command of God,
fore þæs onsýne		before whose face
ealle gesceafte		all creatures
forhte geweorðað,		shall tremble,
þonne hie fæder geseoð,		when they behold the Father,
heofonas and eorðan,	3000	the heavens and the earth,
herigea máste		with the greatest of hosts
on middangeard		upon the earth
mancynn sêcan !		visit the race of men !
Læt nú of þinum staðole		Now let from thy foundation
streámas weallan,	3005	streams bubble out,
eá in fiéde ;		a river in flood ;
nú þe ælmihtig		now thee the Almighty
háteð heofona cyning		King of Heaven commandeth
þæt þu hrædlice		that thou at once
on þis fræte folc	3010	upon this obstinate people
forð onsende		send forth
wæter wídrincg		a rushing stream of water
tô wera cwealme,		for the destruction of the men,
geofon geótende.		a gushing ocean.
Hwæt þú golde eart	3015	Lo thou art than gold [cious ;
sincgife sylla ;		or gift of treasure more pre-
on þe sylf cyning		on thee the King himself
wrát wuldres god,		the God of glory carved,
wordum cýðde		in words made known
recene gerýno,	3020	at once his mysteries,
and rihte æ		and his true law
getácnode		tokened
on tyn wordum ;		in ten sentences ;

meotud mihtum swið		the Lord mighty of power
Moyse sealde ;	3025	gave thee to Moses ;
swá hit sóðfæste		as it the soothfast
siððan heóldon		since maintained
móðige magoþegnas,		the bold servants,
magas sine,		his own tribe,
godfyrhte guman,	3030	god-fearing men,
Iosua and Tobias.		Joshua and Tobias.
Nú þú miht gecnáwan		Now mayst thou acknowledge
þæt þe cyning engla		that thee the King of angels
gefrætwode		adorned
furður miclê	3035	much more
gíofum geardagum		with gifts in days of yore
þonne eall gimma cynn		than all the kinds of gems
þurh his hálige hæð.		through his holy command.
þú scealt hræðe cýðan,		Thou shalt speedily show
gif þú his ondgitan	3040	if thou understanding of him
æðnige hæbbe.		have any."
Næs þá wordlatu		There was no delay
wihte þon máre		more than
þæt se stán tógán,		that the stone split open,
streám út áweóll,	3045	the stream bubbled forth,
fleów ofer foldan,		it flowed over the ground,
fámige walcan		the foaming billows
mid ærdæge		at break of day
eorðan þehton ;		covered the earth ;
miclade mereflôð,	3050	the sea-flood increased,
meodu scerpen wearð		the mead was spilled
æfter symbeldæge ;		after the day of feasting ;
slæpe tóbrugdon		from sleep burst up
searuhæbbende ;		the warriors ;
sund grunde onfêng	3055	the sea seized on the earth
deópe gedréfed ;		deeply convulsed ;
duguð wearð áfyrhted		terrified were the leaders [flood ;
þurh þæs flódes fær ;		thro' the sudden onset of the

fæge swulton		the destined perished
geonge on geofene,	3060	young in the ocean,
gûðræs fornam		the war-rush carried them away
þurh scealtes swêg ;		through the tumult of the salt wave ;
þæt wæs sorgbyrðen		that was a sorry burthen,
biter beðrþegn ;		a bitter service of beer ;
byrlas ne gældon,	3065	the butlers delayed not,
ombeht þegnas,		the attendant thanes,
þær wæs ælcum genôg		there was for each enough
fram dægcs orde		from break of day
drync sôna gearu !		of drink prepared !
Weôx wæteres þrym,	3070	Waxed the water's power,
weras cwânedon,		the men lamented,
ealde æscherend,		the old warriors,
wæs him útmyne		they desired to escape
fleôn fealone streám,		to fly from the yellow stream,
woldon feore beorgan,	3075	they would save their lives,
tô dunscreáfum		in mountain caverns
drohtoð sêcan		seek a refuge
eorðan andwist ;		the support of the earth ;
him þæt engel forstôd		them an angel withstood
se þa burh oferbrægd	3080	who spread abroad over the
blâcan lÿge		pale fire [town
hâtan heaðowealme ;		hot warlike floods ;
hreôh wæs þærinne		fierce was therein
beátende brim,		the beating sea,
ne mihte beorna hlôð	3085	nor might the troop of men
of þâm fæstenne		from their fastness
fleáme spôwan ;		succeed in flight ;
wêgas weóxon,		the waves waxed,
wadu hlÿnsodon,		the torrents roared,
flugon fÿrgnâstas,	3090	fire-sparks flew aloft,
flôd ÿðum weóll ;		the flood boiled with its waves ;
þær wæs ÿðfynde		there might easily be found
innan burgum		within the dwellings

geómorgidd wrecen,		a song of sorrow sung,
gehðo mænan,	3095	misery bemoaned,
forhtferð manig,		many a spirit terrified,
fúsleóð galen !		the death-song sung !
Egeslic æled		The terrible fire
eágsýne wearð,		was visible to the eye,
heardlic hereteám,	3100	the fierce war-offspring,
hleóðor grynelic !		the horrible noise !
þurh lyftgelác		Flying through the air
leges blæstas		the blasts of fire
weallas ymbwurpon ;		overwhelmed the walls ;
wæter micladon.	3105	the waters increased.
Ðær wæs wóp wera		Then was the cry of men
wíde gehýred,		heard afar off,
earmlíc ylða gedræg ;		the wretched tumult of mor- tals ;
þá þær ân ongann		there then began one
feásceaft hæleð	3110	a wretched man
folc gadorigean,		to gather the people,
heán hygegeómor		humble, sad of mind
heófende spræc :		weeping he spake :
Nú ge magon sylfe		“ Now ye yourselves
sóð gecnâwan,	3115	the truth may acknowledge,
þæt we mid unrihte		that we unjustly
ellþeóðigne		the stranger
on carcerne		in the prison
clommum belegdon,		loaded with chains,
wítebendum ;	3120	with bonds of torment ;
ús seó wyrd scýðeð		us doth fate pursue
heard and hetegrim.		hard and grim in hate.
* * þæt is swá cûð,		* * that is so known,
is hit míclé sêlre,		is it much better,
þæs þe ic sóð talige,	3125	as I the truth repute,
þæt we hine álýsan		that we release him
of leoðobendum,		from his limb-bonds,
ealle ánmóde,		all unanimously,



<p> ófast is sélóst,  and ús þone hálgan  helpe biddan  geóce and frófre ;  ús bítð gearu sóna  sibb æfter sorge  gif we sêcað tó him.  þá þær Andrea  ongete wearð  on fyrhðlocan  folces gebæro,  þær wæs módigra  mægen forbêged,  wígendra þrym ;  wæter fæðmedon,  fleów firgendstreám,  flód wæs on luste  oð þæt breóst oferstág,  brim weallende,  eorlum oð exle ;  þa se æðeling hét  streámfare stillan,  stormas restan  ymb stânhleoðu ;  stóp út hræðe  cêne collenferð,  carcerne ágeaf,  gleáwmód gode leóf.  Him gearu sóna  þurh streámræce  stræt wæs gerýmed ;  smeolt wæs se sigewang,  symble wæs dryge  folde fram flóde,  swá his fót gestóp. </p>	<p>3130</p> <p>3135</p> <p>3140</p> <p>3145</p> <p>3150</p> <p>3155</p> <p>3160</p>	<p> the sooner the better,  and for us from the saint  implore help  aid and comfort ;  soon ready for us will be  peace after our sorrow  if we seek it at his hands.”  There then to Andrew  became known  in his heart  the bearing of the people,  that there was of the haughty  the power bent,  the glory of the warriors ;  the waters enveloped them,  the mountain-torrent flowed,  the flood had its pleasure  until it overtopped the breast,  the boiling sea,  above men’s shoulders ;  then the noble commanded  the water-course to be still,  the storms to rest  about the hills of stone ;  out quickly stepped he  bold and firm of mind,  his prison he relinquished,  prudent and dear to God.  For him was soon  through the stream’s course  a passage made ;  serene was the plain of victory,  at once was dry  the earth from the flood,  where his foot stepped. </p>
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Wurdon burgware		The inhabitants were
blīðe on mōde,	3165	blithe of mood,
ferhðgefeónde.		in spirit rejoicing.
Þá wæs forðcumen		Then was come forth
geóc æfter gyrne,		comfort after sorrow,
geofon swaðrode		the ocean subsided
þurh háliges hæs,	3170	through the saint's command,
hlyst yst forgeaf,		the storm gave up its rage,
brimrád gebád,		the sea-road stopped,
þá se beorg tóhlád		then clove the hill
eorðscraf egeslic		a fearful cavern
and þær in-forlét	3175	and there let in
flód fæðmian,		the flood to be embraced,
fealewe wægás		the yellow waves
geótende gegrind		the pouring commotion
grund eall forswealg ;		the abyss swallowed up ;
nalas he þær ýðe	3180	yet not the wave
áne bisencte,		alone he plunged beneath,
ah þæs weorudes eác		but also of the host
þá wyrrestan,		the worst,
fá folcsceaðan		the eminent villains,
feowertýne	3185	fourteen
gewiton mid þý wægê		departed with the wave
in forwyrd sceacan		into destruction
under eorðgrund.		under the abyss.
Ðá wearð acolmód		Then was terrified
forht ferð manig	3190	and afraid many a spirit
folces on láste,		among the people,
wéndon hie and * * *		they thought and * *
wera cwealmes		the slaughter of the men
þearlra geþinga,		of severer conditions,
þræge hnágran,	3195	a gentler period,
siððan máne fá		since the stained with crime
morðorseyldige,		the guilty of murder,
gúðgelácan,		the war-players,

under grund hruron.		rested under the ground.
Hie þa ânmode	3200	They then unanimously
ealle cwædon :		all said :
Nú is gesýne		“ Now is it visible
þæt-þe sóð meotud		that a true God
cýning eallwihta		King of all creatures
cræftum wealdeð,	3205	powerfully governeth,
se þisne ár		who this messenger
hider onsende.		hither hath sent
þeódum tó helpe.		for a help to these nations.
Is nú þearf micel		Now is it very needful
þæt we gumcystum	3210	that we this excellent man
georne hýran.		should gladly hear !”
þa se háлга ongann		Then the saint began
hæleð blissigean		the man to bless
wigendra þreát,		the troop of warriors,
wordum rétan :	3215	with words to comfort :
Ne beoð ge tó forhte		“ Be not ye too terrified
þeh þe fell curen		although death chose
synnigra cynn,		the race of sinners,
swylt þrowode,		death hath suffered, [deeds ;
wítu be gewyrstum ;	3220	punishment according to their
eow is wuldres leóht		to you the light of glory
torht ontýned		bright is opened
gif ge teala hycgað.		if ye think well.”
Sende þa his bene		Then sent he up his prayer
fore bearn godes,	3225	before the Son of God,
bæd háligne		he bade him holy
helpe gefremman		to give help
gumena geógoðe,		to the young men of the people,
þe on geofene ær		who in the ocean before
þurh flódes fæðm	3230	through the flood’s embrace
feorh gesealdon ;		had life given up ;
þæt þa gâstas		that their spirits
góde orfeorme,		by God deserted,

<p>in witta forwyrd,  wuldre bescyrede,  in feonda gewæld  gefêred wurdan.  þā þæt ærende  ealwealdan gode,  æfter hleoðorcwidum  hāliges gāstes,  wæs on þanc sprecen,  þeoda ræswan ;  hêt þā onsunde  ealle ārīsan  geonge of greóte  þa ær geofon cwealde.  þā þær ofostlice  uppástodon  manige on meðle,  mīne gefrege  eaforan unweaxne ;  ða wæs eall geador  leoðolic and gāstlic,  þeah hie lungre ær  þurh flódes fær  feorh ālêton ;  onfêngon fulwihhte  and freoðuwære  wuldres wedde,  witum āspedde,  mundbyrd meotudes.  Ðā se mōdiga hêt,  cyninges cræftigra,  ciricean getimbran,  gerwan godes tempel,  þær sió geógoð ārās  þurh fæder fulwiht,</p>	<p>3235  3240  3245  3250  3255  3260  3265</p>	<p>into the destruction of torments,  of glory cut off,  into the power of fiends  should [not] be carried.  Then was that message  to Almighty God,  through the prompting  of the Holy Ghost,  spoken to pleasure,  the Prince of nations ;  he commanded in safety  all to arise  young from the sand  whom the sea before had slain.  Then there with speed  stood up  many in the congregation,  as I have heard,  young ungrown progeny ;  there was all together  the bodily and the ghostly,  though they a little while be-  through the flood's rush [fore  their life had lost ;  baptism they received  and the covenant of peace  with the pledge of glory,  made prosperous by their suf-  the protection of God. [ferings,  Then commanded the bold one,  than a king more powerful,  to build a church,  to raise a temple to God,  where the young men arose  through the father's baptism,</p>
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and se flód onsprang.		and the flood departed.
Þá gesamnadon	3270	Then collected together
secga þreáte,		in a host of men, [city
weras geond þa winburg		the men throughout the war-
wíde and síde,		far and wide,
eorlas ánumóde,		the earls with one accord,
and hira idesa mid ;	3275	and their wives with them ;
cwædon, holdlice		they said obediently
hýran woldon		they would hear
onfón fromlice		and piously receive
fullwihtes bæð		the bath of baptism
dryhtne to willan,	3280	to please the Lord,
and diófolgild,		and their idolatry,
ealde ealhstedas		their old temples
ánforlætan.		would desert.
Ðá wæs mid þý folcê		Then was among the people
fulwiht hæfen	3285	baptism raised
æðele mid eorlum,		noble among the men,
and æ godes		and God's law
riht áræred,		right set up,
ræd on lande		counsel on the land
mid þam ceasterwarum,	3290	among the inhabitants,
cirice gehálgod ;		a church consecrated ;
þær se ár godes		there God's messenger
ánne gesette		placed one
wisfæstne wer		wise man
wordes gleáwne	3295	prudent of speech
in þære beorhtan byrig,		in the bright town,
bisceop þam leódum,		a bishop over the people,
and gehálgode		and hallowed him
fore þam heremægene,		before the host,
þurh apostolhád,	3300	through apostolic power,
Platan nemned,		Plato named,
þeódum on þearfe ;		for the people's need ;
and þriste bebeád		and boldly commanded

þæt hie his lāre  
lāston georne,  
feorhrād fremedon ;

sægde his fūsne hyge,  
þæt he þa goldburg  
ofgifan wolde,  
secga seledreám  
and sincgestreón,  
beorht beágselu,  
and him brimpisan  
æt sæs faroðe  
sēcan wolde.

Ðæt wæs þám weorode  
weor tó geþoligenne  
þæt hie se leodfruma  
leng ne wolde  
wihte gewunian.

Ðá him wuldres god  
on ðám stōðfæte  
sylfum ætýwde  
and þæt word gecwæð  
weoroda dryhten :

\* \* \*  
\* \* \*

folc of firenum ;  
is him fūs hyge,  
gáð geomriende,  
geohðo mænnað  
weras wíf samod.

Him þá wōp becom,  
murnende móð

\* \* \*  
\* \* \*

fore sneówan.

that they his teaching  
3305 should zealously follow,  
should do what would benefit  
their souls ;

he said his mind was to depart,  
that he the metropolis  
would desert,  
3310 the joy of halls to the men  
and hoarded treasure,  
the bright ring-halls,  
and for himself a ship  
on the sea-shore  
3315 would seek.

That was for the host  
miserable to bear  
that with them the prince  
no longer would  
3320 at all abide.

'Then to him the God of glory  
on his journey  
appeared  
and this word spake  
3325 the Lord of hosts :

\* \* \*  
\* \* \*

people from their crimes ;  
their mind is ready for death,  
sorrowing they go about,  
their grief lament  
3330 men and women together."

To him the weeping came,  
the mourning mood

\* \* \*  
\* \* \*

hasten forth.

Ne scealt þú þæt eowde ánforlætan	3335	Thou shalt not the flock desert
on swá niówan gefeán, ah him naman mínne on ferhðlocan fæste getimbre ; wuna in þære winbyrig,	3340	in so new a joy, but in them my name within their hearts fast build up ; remain in this metropolis,
wígendra hleó, salu sinchroden, seofon nihta fyrst, siððan þú mid mildse mínre fêrest.	3345	refuge of warriors, the halls adorned with treasure, a space of seven nights, then mayst thou depart with my grace.”
þá eft gewát óðré síðé módig mægene róf Marmedonia ceastre sécan.	3350	Then again departed a second time [power the courageous one famed for Mermedonia the city to visit.
Cristenra weóx word and wisdóm, siððan wuldres þegn, æðelcyninges ár,  eágum sáwon.	3355	Of the Christians waxed the word and wisdom, after they the thane of glory, the messenger of the noble King, with their eyes beheld.
Lærde þá þa leóde on geleáfan weg, trymede torhtlice ; tíreádigra wenede tó wuldre	3360	There he taught the people in the way of faith, brightly he confirmed them ; of very blessed men he gained for glory
weorod unmete, tó þám hálgan hám, heofona ríces, þær fæder and sunu and frófre gast	3365	an immeasurable multitude, to the holy home, of heaven’s realm, where Father and Son and Spirit of comfort
in þrinnesse þrymme wealdeð		in trinity gloriously rule

in woruld worulda		to all eternity
wuldorgestealda.		the mansions of glory.
Swylce se hálga	3370	Also the saint
herigeas þreáde,		rebuked the multitudes,
deófulgild tódráf		their idolatry he banished
and gedwolan fýlde ;		and their error put down ;
þæt wæs Satane		that was for Satan
sár tó geþolienne,	3375	hard to bear,
micel modes sorg,		a mighty sorrow of mind,
þæt he þá menigeo geseah		when he beheld the many
hweorfan hygeblíðe		turn aside blithe of mood
fram helltrafum		from hell's dwellings
þurh Andreas	3380	through Andrew's
éste lare,		gentle lore,
tó fægeran gefeán ;		unto a fairer joy ;
þær næfre feóndes ne bið		where never shall be fiend's
gástes gramhydiges		or savage spirit's
gang on lande.	3385	walk upon the land.
Ðá wæron gefylde		Then were fulfilled
æfter freán dóme		according to the Lord's behest
dagas on ríme		the days in number
swá him dryhten bebeád,		as the Lord commanded,
þæt he þá wederburg	3390	that he the city of storms
wunian sceolde ;		should inhabit ;
ongan hine þá fýsan		then began he to prepare
and tó flóte gyrwan,		and to get ready for sailing,
blissum hrémig		rejoicing in bliss
wolde on brimpisan	3395	he would in a ship
Achaie		Achaia
óðrê síðe		a second time
sylfa gesécan,		himself revisit, [soul,
þær he sawulgedál,		when he the separation of the
beaducwealm gebád ;	3400	war-death awaited ;
þæt þám banan ne wearð		that to his murderer was not
hleafre behworfen,		with laughter accompanied,



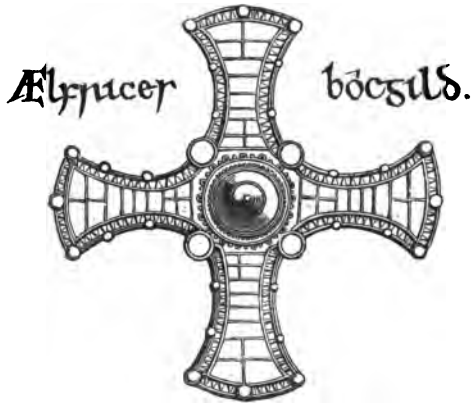
aḥ in helle ceaf		but in the jaws of hell
sīð ásette,		his journey he placed,
and sið nō,	3405	and never since,
fáh freonda léas,		hostile friendless,
frófre benóhte.		comfort he enjoyed.
Ðá ic lædan gefrægn		Then heard I that conducted
leóda weorode		with a troop of men
leófne láreow	3410	the dear teacher
tó lídes stefnan		to the prow of the ship
mæcgas módgeómre ;		the men sad of mood ;
þær manegum wæs		there was it to many a one
hát æt heortan,		hot at heart,
hyge weallende.	3415	the mind boiling.
Hie þá gebrohton		Then brought they
æt brimes næsse		at the sea-cliffs
on wægþele		into his wave-house
wígan unsláwne ;		the active champion ;
stódon him þá on ófre	3420	they stood there on the shore
æfter reótan		shouting after him
þendon hie on f̅ðum		as long as they upon the waves
æðelinga wunn		the joy of princes
ofer seolhwáðu		over the seal's paths
geseon mihton ;	3425	could see ;
and þá weorðodon		and there they worshipped
wuldres ágend,		the Lord of glory,
cleopodon on corðre,		they called in companies,
and cwædon þus :		and thus said :
An is éce god	3430	“ One is the eternal God
eallra gesceafta,		of all creatures,
is his miht and his æht		is his might and power
ofer middangeard		throughout the earth
breme gebledsod,		gloriously blessed,
and his blæd ofer eall	3435	and his joy over all
in heofonþrymme		in heaven's majesty
hálgum scíneð,		shineth on his saints,

wlitige on wuldre,  
tô wíðan ealdre  
éce mid englum ;  
þæt is æðele cyning !

beauteous in glory  
for ever and ever  
3440 eternally among angels ;  
that is a noble king !”

END OF THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW.

**THE ÆLFRIC SOCIETY,**  
 FOR THE ILLUSTRATION OF  
**ANGLO-SAXON AND EARLY ENGLISH**  
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*The Dialogue of*

SALOMON AND SATURN,

*with an historical introduction*

*by*  
*J. M. Kemble.*  
*London, 1848*

INTRODUCTION.

THE story whose earliest Teutonic form is now for the first time printed, has long been a favourite in various parts of Europe. Although it makes its appearance at different times, under titles, and with characteristics which differ according to the habits and circumstances of each people that adopted it into their literature, it still gives throughout the most convincing evidence of being "one form of many names." There are few nations, of modern Europe at least, which do not possess a version of the story; and as we continue our inquiry, we shall soon find that it was well known and widely spread among our forefathers also.

In the course of this Introduction I shall have occasion to show the original identity of Marcolfus and Saturnus, Salomon's competitors in all the known forms of the legend; and consequently to prove that, however variously treated at various times, the legend is the same throughout. Under these circumstances it must attract our attention, though it can hardly excite our surprise, when we find at one time a most solemn and serious piece of mystical theosophy re-appearing at another in the form of a coarse but humorous parody; nay, even passing into the degraded shape of a dialogue *de Meretricibus*, as it speedily did among the French. All that the inquirer here finds necessary is to show histori-

cally when and where such change took place, and to furnish at least plausible reasons for its existence.

Of all the forms of the story yet preserved, the Anglo-Saxon are undoubtedly the oldest. There is no longer any trace of the original from which they were taken ; and we are driven to the imperfect hypothesis of an Eastern source for at least some portion of what the Anglo-Saxon poems contain, without being able to show how or when the legend migrated to Europe. With the sole exception of one French version, they are the only forms of the story remaining in which the subject is seriously and earnestly treated ; and, monstrous as the absurdities found in them are, we may be well assured that the authors were quite unconscious of their existence.

That which is with us either blasphemy or nonsense, was with them religious wonder and knowledge ; they loved mystery, and mysticism still more, and to their views (exaggerated Anthropomorphic views) of the form and nature of God the most chaotic mass of description seemed endurable, if it were only gigantic enough : one of the old Greek poets and philosophers has said\*,

If Bulls made Gods, their God would be a Bull !

and so in general it is true, that when men make Gods, their God must be a Man : civilized nations prefer indeed a God who is a Man, possessing all the attributes of Man in the negative ; uncivilized peoples do not get so far as this ; they generally content themselves with a being possessing every one of their own powers and passions in a geometrical progression of which the common ratio is infinity, or at least

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\* ——— ἀλλ' εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον βόες, ἢ λέοντες  
ἢ γράψαι χεῖρσσι, καὶ ἔργα τέλειν ἄπερ ἄνδρες  
ἵπποι μὲνδ' ἵπποισι, βόες δὲ τε βουσιν ὅμοιοι  
καὶ καὶ θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραψον, καὶ σώματα' ἐποίησαν  
τοιαῦδ' οἶον περ καὶ αὐτοὶ δέμας εἶχον ὅμοιον.

*Xenophanes in Euseb. Præf. Evangel. xiii. 13.*

Yet this hater of Anthropomorphic, Boomorphic, Hippomorphic Gods was railed at for atheism.

what they believe infinity to be. / The Anglo-Saxon, in his description of the Pater Noster, has given at once a lamentable yet very instructive picture of what he required in his supreme Being. Yet it is only such because it is intended to be read and contemplated most solemnly: no doubt, no fear of ridicule or disbelief ever crossed his mind: whether he translated only, or was indebted to his own fancy for his description, it was for him a serious, grave and earnest enunciation of what he believed, or wished to believe. The story was for knowledge, and he that was acquainted with its contents may have once been looked upon as a sage. We are now, however, to view it in another and very different light. The transition from seriousness to joke is natural: the formal, solemn *Spruchmeister* and the licensed jester are necessary inmates of the same court; they are counterparts only, and representatives, of two necessary modes of human thought. They act and react upon one another; they mutually set off one another, and the vocation of the one draws its life and import from the presence of the other. In bad natures, the prudential and, as it most properly should be considered, common-sense judgement converts its companion the spirit of laughter, joke and light-heartedness into a malignant japer and jiber, the original Mephistophiles\*, who in the moments of Faust's highest moral feeling

humbles him before himself,

and, as he is even still more strongly described, "Ever nics with *nay* †!"

But it is a great and merciful provision that neither the most nor the least serious of man's powers should alone constitute the staple of man's nature: the first alone would press him down into the dust; the second alone would ren-

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\* Cornelius has in this feeling (which must have been Göthe's also) actually represented his Mephistophiles in a jester's cap and bells.—*Ill. of Faust.*

† I use a good old English phrase. Nothing can translate the horror of the original—"Der Geist der stets verneint."

der him incapable of ever rising from it. Good men know that in them the gravest spirit is supported, strengthened and purified by the lightest. Good or bad, both spirits must be there together, and whether they shall be there for happiness or for misery depends upon something beyond the sphere of either. Shakspeare, when he introduced into one mighty scene the real madness of Lear, the assumed madness of Edgar and the thoughtlessness of the jester, which, though it approaches, does not quite reach one form of idiotcy, had assuredly something deeper at heart than the mere exhibition of a contrast: he had to bring at once into play the two opposite but coexisting feelings which he knew lay close within the breasts of his hearers. The pompous hero of Spanish Tragedy must be accompanied by the Grazioso or fool, who parodies his speeches and interferes with the course of his magnificent and grandiloquent master assuredly for a better purpose than the mere disarming, by forestalling, the ridicule of the audience. The melancholy and, though mad, most serious, earnest and noble Don Quixote would have been too painful, too conscience-smiting an object of contemplation, had not Sancho been introduced to light up the picture and, as I believe, give us a new key to the character of the hero.

The early times of a nation possess few men who reflect upon themselves or their own powers. Nature is felt, not reasoned upon. Everything is symbolic, everything brings a visual image with it, a part or the whole of an object. The very language which men speak announces this to us as a fact. Literature is the resort of few, and the very existence of a literature is the first step towards "treading the downward path of thought." Its subjects are serious; for even the heroic ballads which constitute the Epic, are to peoples at such times serious and important records. Yet the character of the Epic speaks for itself; it has no reflective philosophy; it describes facts and feelings, and feelings by facts;



it relates everything and analyses nothing. When among early peoples such sources of enjoyment as their poems become influenced by the introduction of a new and most important interest, namely that of religion, the character of literature becomes yet more serious. The lighter feeling then finds its support in action, in the occurrences of society and the various accidents of the hunting party or the camp. The weightier visits the monk in the cloister, accompanies him through the ponderous pages of Hierome and Augustine, and perpetually reminds him that while he reads, he must read for the benefit of himself and of his kind. He that did not read, could not read, and indeed had no business to read, must find support for this feeling in the important daily interests of worldly life, in the family relations of father or lord, in the court of justice and the council-chamber, in the house or on the battle-field. As warrior and lawgiver, there was little lack to him of serious occupation; and where he found serious occupation, there might he also find amusement and gaiety. The priest or the monk was not so fortunately situated: amidst a half-converted people, he had all the labour, all the danger which threaten, and not a tithe of the support which strengthens the missionary of our times: he was debarred by strict enactment from the amusements of the laity; he might neither sing over his ale, nor play an innocent game at draughts with his neighbour; and very soon indeed, both in England and elsewhere, the holy charities of domestic life were torn from him, and he was forbidden to become a husband or a father. In this state of mental castration, what was left for him? True indeed, if fortunate, he might even aspire to the honour of working miracles after his death, and to a consequent canonization; but in the meantime he starved upon seriousness; by good means or bad he must laugh, and, as he was a writer and reader, he wrote and read off his melancholy. It is an undoubted fact, that the earliest essays of a humorous nature, be they verse or prose,

are the productions of the cloister. How this spread it is quite unnecessary to inquire; for it is obvious that, when once reading and study become generally diffused, food for every demand of the mind will be supplied; and even where books are wanting, there is the wandering singer ready to bear from castle to castle, or from tavern to tavern, literary ware of every class for every class of hearer. Although, therefore, the earliest literature of a people shows but little of a light and humorous nature (since *life* is then the field where the laughing spirit is to try its power and find its full development), yet the next step is of directly the opposite kind, and parody, which is one of the last and perhaps the meanest, is also the second point of advance in the recorded development of a people's mind.

Although these remarks are, as I believe, generally true, they are more particularly so for England; and rude, coarse even as many of the compositions of our forefathers are, we may be proud to think that little of that disgusting profligacy which from the earliest times characterizes the literature of other races is to be found among ourselves.

In pursuance of this spirit, we may find a great many very coarse and homely matters in the German versions of Salomon and Marcolf, but nothing morally offensive: the French version, on the contrary, is far more polished, but distinguished throughout by a pernicious spirit, which clings to too many of the productions of that highly civilized, and little civil, race.

One cause has been already assigned for the alteration in the nature of the legend: another yet remains, which depends very closely upon what I consider as by far the most interesting matter connected with the subject. It will hereafter be seen that I assign a Northern origin to one portion of the story, while I admit the admixture of an Oriental element. I propose to show that this Northern portion is an echo from the days of German heathenism, and to restore Saturnus or Marcolfus *the God* to his place in the pagan Pantheon of our

ancestors. The ludicrous or hateful character which in Marcolfus gradually replaces the solemn and grave dignity of Saturnus, confirms my view: Christianity never succeeded in rooting out the ancient creed; it only changed many of its objects, which maintained, and do still to this day maintain, their place among us. What had been religious observance subsists as popular superstition: the cross of the Saviour only replaced the hammer of Thórr; and the spells which had once contained the names of heathen Gods were still used as effective, having been *christened* by the addition of a little holy water, and the substitution of the names of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Tobit, St. Peter and St. Paul. We did little more or less than the Popes, under whose judicious management the festival of Pan Lupercus became that of the Purification, the temple of the Roman Gods became a Church of the Blessed Virgin, and the statues of its ancient occupants, tolerable representatives of the twelve Apostles. But this toleration extended only to what could be made use of; that which was too essentially heathen to be christianized by any process, was by some means or other to be got rid of. The progress of opinion on this subject is curious: at first the half-converted heathens believed their own Gods still to be Gods, though inferior in power and holiness to the new one, from whose presence they were compelled to fly: next, upon a hint from Jerome or Augustine, Wóden, Thunor and Frey became demons who had seduced mankind; at a still later period they were men who had arrogated to themselves divine honours: and lastly, the once dreaded titles of the inmates of Os-geard were degraded to trivial and ridiculous uses. Even as Odinn is in the Norse *sögur* frequently represented in a poor and contemptible condition, or as Fricge in Saxo Grammaticus appears in the light most dishonourable to a lady, so does Saturnus or Marcolfus the God, and representative of the old heathen power and wisdom, finally dwindle down into the foul, deformed but

witty jester of the German legend, or the profligate and dirty carper of the French.

To determine where, and at what period, this occurred, belongs to the subject to which I now proceed, namely the History of the Legend. The Northern portion of the story will be treated of when I come to the examination of the names Saturnus and Marcolfus; at present my business is with the foreign element, introduced in the person and under the character of Salomon.

Many circumstances conspire to render it probable that among the Jewish traditions, whether in the Talmud or not, the first germ of it is to be found\*, from whence it probably found its way into the East, and through some early religious

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\* In the Catalogue of the Bodleian I find entered "Libellus dictus מְשָׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה i. e. Proverbia Salomonis, quæ sunt historiola seu fabellæ. 40. Constant. 1517," a work not noticed by d'Herbelot, vid. *in voc.* Amthal and Messilah. Can any of the contents of this book have reference to our story? It is not altogether unimportant, that in the Latin version Marcolf is represented as coming from the East: "vidit quendam hominem, Marcolfum nomine, qui ab Oriente nuper venerat." Von der Hagen, in his Introduction (*Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, xxi. vol. ii.) mentions having read an oriental tale, whose contents resembled those of the Salomon and Morolf printed by him. He states that the names differed, and that the scene of the tale was laid in Bassorah. Though the book was modern, it might have been drawn from ancient Oriental sources.

Another work, with the same title of *Miscelée Scelomó*, מְשָׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, *Proverbia Salomonis*, is mentioned in Bartoloccio, *Biblioth. Magna Rabinica*, i. 708. The author says, "Intentio mea in eo est dare interpretationem omnibus insomniorum speciebus. Incepi illum Imolæ, et filio meo R. Salomoni dicavi, anno 317. Christi 1557." Perhaps this work is of the same character as that above mentioned, though from the dates it is scarcely possible that it should be the same book. In Docen. *N. Lit. Anzeige*. 1807. Sp. 757, it is stated that a Persian copy of this dialogue exists in the Bodleian at Oxford, and a general reference is given to Uri's Catalogue. I have carefully consulted this catalogue, and I find no trace of the dialogue, or, to speak more strictly, no trace of the names. In a review of Von der Hagen's German Salomon and Marcolf, by James Grimm, in the *Heidelb. Jahrb.* 1809. Pt. 45. p. 249-253, the Oriental character of the story is argued from a comparison of Salomon's Proverbs, and the remark that in Hebrew Marcolf is a name of scorn. Now here, unless I err greatly, James Grimm has been deceived by a resemblance of names; the word *Markolis* has an application

book into the West also. Josephus, himself a Jew deeply versed in the traditions of his country, is the earliest profane author with whom I am acquainted who notices the story; at the same time he derives his information from still older authorities, namely Dios and Menander of Ephesus. The Saturn or Marcolf of our legend is with him Abdimus the son of Abdæmon of Tyre, and the allusion to him is as follows:—

ἐπὶ τούτου ἦν Ἀβδέμωνος παῖς νεώτερος, ὃς δὲ ἐνῖκα τὰ προβλήματα ἃ ἐπέτασσε Σολομῶν ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς. μνημονεύει δὲ καὶ Δίος, λέγων οὕτως· “Ἀβυβάλου τελευτήσαντος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εἴραμος ἐβασίλευσεν . . . . . τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι φησὶ πρὸς τὸν Εἴραμον αἰνίγματα, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιούντα· τὸν δὲ, μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρίναι τῶν λύσαντι χρήματα

of the kind, no doubt, but a secondary application only, and one that does not warrant the inference drawn from it. Buxtorf, in his *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, gives an account of this *Markolis* מַרְקוֹלִים which he most absurdly would make out to be *Mercurius*, “commutatis pro more ל et ר.” That the word denoted an idol of some sort, though certainly not the God Mercury, is possible, and בית קוליס *Beth Kolis* appears to denote a heathen temple. But Rabbi Tam, author of the *Additiones Talmudicæ*, denies the conclusion, “inquiens non esse idoli nomen, et *Markolis* idem esse quod הילוף קוליס *Hilof Kolis*, *Permutatio laudis*, i. e. *ignominia*, *Idolum ignominiosum*. Nam מר *commutatio* a מיר unde המיר *permutare*, *mutare*, et קוליס idem quod קילום, quod in contrarium sensum a Rabinis traductum est לעג *ludificatio*, *illusio*. Idem probat R. Bechaj in Deut. vii. 26.” It is asserted that this *Markolis* was worshiped by the casting of stones, whence the Hebrew proverb, to cast stones at *Markolis*, that is, to commit idolatry. In *Medrasch* upon Prov. xxvi. 8. we have כל מי שחולק כבור לכסיל כזורק אבן למרקוליס, “*Quicumque impertitur honorem stulto, similis est projicienti lapidem ad Markolis.*” A good deal more of the same sort is found in Buxtorf under the word *Markolis*. I cannot admit the probability of our *Marcolf* having directly any such origin: in the first place, *Marcolf* is not the original name of *Salomon’s* competitor; and even if it were, the whole tone of the earlier versions being solemn and serious, and the humorous character having been gradually superinduced, I must reject all immediate dependence upon the Hebrew *Markolis*. It is in the latest times only that *Marcolf* is spoken of as a fool. Throughout the earlier humorous versions he is more than a match for *Salomon*. On this subject, however, I shall have a few more remarks to make when I come to the names *Saturnus* and *Marcolfus*.

ἀποτίειν. ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἶραμον, καὶ μὴ δυναθέντα λύσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα, πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλώσαι. εἶτα δὲ Ἀβδήμονα τινα Τύριον ἄνδρα τὰ προτεθέντα λύσαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαιεῖν, ἃ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολομῶνα, πολλὰ τῷ Εἰράμῳ προσποτίσαι χρήματα.” καὶ Δίος μὲν οὕτως εἶρηκεν.

*Jos. Antiq.* viii. 5. (Oxon. fol. 1720. vol. i. p. 353.)

The same transaction, though with a different result, is alluded to in another passage, immediately preceding the quotations from Menander and Dios :—

καὶ σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους αἰνιγματώδεις διεπέμψατο πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς, παρακαλῶν ὅπως αὐτῷ τούτους σαφηνίσῃ, καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητουμένων ἀπαλλάξῃ· τὸν δὲ δεινὰ ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν, οὐδὲν τούτων παρήλθεν· ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῷ λογισμῷ, καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε.

Again, in his treatise against Appion, lib. i., he repeats this assertion from Menander of Ephesus (vol. ii. 1341) in very much the same words as above, and in p. 1340 from Dios, with the slight but proper variation, *εἶτα δὲ, Ἀβδήμονα τινα*, etc.

It seems to me, however, that the germ of the story is to be found in the Old Testament itself. The facility of working out the hints there given is obvious, and that such traditional dialogues should have sprung from them, extremely natural. The visit of the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings, ch. x.) was expressly made to prove the wisdom of Salomon : “And when the Queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Salomon, concerning the name of the Lord, *she came to prove him with hard questions* . . . And Salomon told her all her questions : there was not anything hid from the king which he told her not.” There are in the Talmud accounts of some of these questions and answers, and of the king’s devices, whereby he outwitted this adventurous inquirer after hidden things. But the commendation given by Hiram of Tyre to Hiram the artist whom he sent to Salomon seems yet more in point, and serves to suggest that Abdimus, the son of Abdæmon,

and Hiram, the son of the woman of the daughters of Dan, are in character very nearly connected. Hiram, in his letter, says (2 Chron. ii. 13), "And now I have sent a cunning man (endued with understanding) of Hiram my father's; the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre: skilful to work in gold and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every device which shall be put unto him, with thy cunning men, and with the cunning men of David thy father."

Now, whatever relation may be supposed to exist between Hiram and Abdimus, it is quite clear that as early as the twelfth century a very close one was recognised between Abdimus and Marcolf; for William of Tyre (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. ii. p. 834) says, "Ex hac nihilominus urbe (viz. Tyre) fuit Abdimus adolescens, Abdæmonis filius, qui Salomonis omnia sophismata, et verba parabolæ ænigmatica, quæ Hyram regi Tyrionum solvenda mittebat, mirâ solvebat subtilitate, De quo ita legitur in Josepho. Ant. lib. 8, etc. etc.....Et hic fortasse est quem fabulosæ popularium narrationes *Marcolfum* vocant, de quo dicitur, quod Salomonis solvebat ænigmata, et ei respondebat, æquipollenter iterum solvenda proponens." It is important here that William speaks of the story as popular at this period among his countrymen; whether by *populares* we understand Europeans or Asiatics, a point as yet unsettled. But supposing us to adopt the most unfavourable supposition, viz. that William was an Asiatic, we must not admit that the story was not current in Europe till spread there by the Crusaders. It was, on the contrary, well known at a much earlier period: it is even probable that some wild tale, founded on the circumstance, was once received by Christians among the books of the Old Testament; for in the fifth century we find Pope Gelasius expelling from the Canon, among other spurious

compositions, a certain "Contradictio Salomonis" (A.D. 494, Concil. x. p. 214). That this "Contradictio Salomonis" was the ground-work of our Anglo-Saxon poems seems very possible: that it was at any rate, in some respects, the dialogue which remains to us, and which is alluded to in the twelfth century by William of Tyre, is rendered probable by the following words of Notker, who wrote at St. Gall in the eleventh:

"Solliche habent misseliche professiones; Judeorum literæ so gescribene heizent *deuterosis*, an dien milia fabularum sint, ane den canonem divinarum scripturarum. Sameliche habent hæretici an iro vana loquacitate. Habent ouh solliche sæculares literæ. Uuaz ist ioh anders, daz man *Marcolphum* saget sih ellenon uuider proverbii Salamonis? An dien allen sint uuort sconiu ane uuarheit." (*Schilter*. i. 228.)

"Talia habent variæ professiones; Judæorum literæ sic scriptæ vocantur *deuterosis*, in quibus millia fabularum sunt, extra canonem divinarum scripturarum. Similia habent hæretici in eorum vana loquacitate. Habent etiam talia sæculares literæ. Quid est enim aliud, quum dicant Marcolphum contra proverbia Salomonis certasse? In quibus omnibus, verba pulchra sunt, sine veritate."

However absurd and fantastical the Salomon and Marcolph thus alluded to may have been (and, if the supposition be allowed that the Anglo Saxon poetical dialogue is a more or less close translation from it, Gelasius must be admitted to have exercised a very sound discretion), it is still quite clear that it was a dialogue of a very different kind from those which have since existed under that name.

There is necessarily great difficulty in determining where and when the change in its nature was completed, and less perhaps with regard to the period than the place, because one nation would not long remain behind another in a case of this kind. I am however inclined to suspect that it was in Germany, and certainly before the thirteenth century, probably during the latter part of the twelfth. There is reason for supposing that in the Frankish territory, on the left bank



of the Rhine and below the Moselle, this, in common with other and similar traditions, was well known, and that from thence they found their way into France on the one hand, and into Upper Germany on the other. Into England, as far as I know, the altered form of the legend never found its way at all; for such allusions to it as occur in comparatively modern MSS. may be safely referred to the influence of the French or Latin versions. The reasons for assigning the twelfth century as the limit between the two forms of the legend are these:—

1. The word *ellinón* made use of by Notker means merely to *contend with* or *rival*. To contend with ribaldry and ridicule against wisdom, and with absurdity against sense, would hardly have been expressed by this grave churchman by the word *ellinón*: just as little would he have introduced the subject-matter at all into a grave work, had it not been itself a serious, though uncanonical production. But above all, he praises the contents of the Salomon and Marcolf, which he knew, saying that the words are beautiful, though there is no truth (that is, canonical authority) in them: *scóniu uuort* would not apply to anything of the nature of the modern German versions, though Notker would certainly have used that expression to denote something more nearly resembling the contents of the Anglo-Saxon poem.

2. William of Tyre seems expressly to exclude anything like parody from the Salomon and Marcolf that he knew: he says most distinctly, “de quo (Marcolfo) dicitur quod Salomonis solvebat ænigmata, et ei respondebat, *æquipollenter* iterum solvenda proponens.” This is not the description of such a version as the modern German, but is consonant to what he had read of Abdimus in his Josephus.

3. Rambaut d’Aurenga, a Provençal poet who died in 1173, and was therefore a contemporary of William of Tyre, notices the legend in the following words:—

Cil que m'a vout trist alegre  
 sab mais, qui vol sos dits segre,  
 que Salamos ni Marcols,  
 de faig rics ab ditz entendre ;  
 e cai leu d'aut en la pols  
 qui s pliu en aitals bretols.

(Cited by *M. de Rohegude* in his *Essai d'un Glossaire Occitanien*. Thoul, 1819 in voc. *Bretols*\*)

Now in this passage the words "knows more than Salomon or Marcolf," seem to imply a serious version of the story, in which a real struggle for the palm of knowledge was maintained; consequently one resembling the Anglo-Saxon versions, and those known to Notker and William of Tyre; and, on the other hand, different from the German, Latin and French forms, which will be noticed hereafter.

4. Another passage to the same effect, and probably of the same period, occurs in a French poem against the luxury of priests. MS. Arund. 507. fol. 81.

Mès de tant soit chescun certayn  
 ken le monde nad si bon escriueyn  
 si fieust à tant com *Salomon* sage  
 e com *Marcun* de bon langage,  
 e mill anz uesquid per age,  
 le male ne cuntireit nel damage  
 ne la peyne que le prestre auera  
 qi tiel peiché hantera.

The coarse jests of the French Marcon, or the Latin and German Marcolf, could hardly have justified the *bon langage* of this allusion.

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\* Although Rambaut mentions this legend, it may be doubted whether it was ever very commonly known in Provence. I have hitherto never met with any other allusion to it; for the line,

Com Salamos saup pres tenir,

seems too vague, although occurring in the enumeration of *histories* which must be known to the professional minstrel. See Diez. *Poesie der Troubadours*, p. 199. Generally the expression is, as wise as *Cato*, or, from the famous fox, as clever as *Reynard*. Diez. *Poes.* p. 132. The life of Rambaut, third Count of Orange, may be read in Diez. *Leben d. Tr.* p. 62.

5. In an article by Dom Brial in the fifteenth volume of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, p. 10, there is noticed, among other works of Bishop Serlon contained in the MS. Bibl. Royale, No. 3718, a copy of satirical verses addressed to an Abbot Robert, who had written a rhythmical comment upon this tale : the words of the author are, “ La quatorzième pièce est adressée à un nommé Robert, à qui l’auteur fait honneur d’un travail sur les *formules de Marculfe*, et de commentaires sur les *livres de Salomon*, mais qu’il persifle et tourne en ridicule, pour s’être avisé de faire des vers avec le style de Marculfe. Voici ce qu’il en dit :—

Dum speculor versum dum carmen tam bene versum,  
 Illic perversum nihil invenio nisi versum;  
 Fas testor juris ac cætera numina ruris,  
 Spem de futuris præsentant illa lituris,  
 Quod versu quæris, versu placuisse mereris,  
 Sic Maro semper eris, si nunquam versifeceris.

So far Dom Brial : but the learned Benedictine seems to have fallen into an extraordinary error ; I have no doubt that he found from Serlon’s verses that Robert had written a serious comment upon Salomon and Marcolf ; but he was entirely indebted to his own ingenuity for the conclusion that it was on *the books* of Salomon, and the *formularies* of Marculf. That these were the only works known to him with such titles will easily explain his error, though, when their nature is considered, one wonders that he was not led to doubt his own accuracy. The *Formularies* of Marculf are a complete system of conveyancing, with blanks for the names of parties contracting : in the twelfth century, when Serlon lived, they were already obsolete ; and although we have heard of Justinian having been put into hexameters, yet the notion of Marculf’s appearing in verse is no whit more reasonable than that of clothing a set of *Nisi Prius* declarations in the same dress. The only books of Salomon which Dom Brial thought of were those of the canon ; yet had any of these

been intended, it would probably have been named. Lastly, a man who wrote a commentary on the formularies of Marculf could be no other than an antiquarian lawyer, and what he should have to do with the books of Salomon is not very clear : or, to put the case the other way, the man who wrote a comment on the books of Salomon must have been a clergyman, and what he could have to do with the formularies of Marculf is equally obscure ; for, acute as clerical legists were in the middle ages, in the invention of Trusts, Uses and the like, it does not appear that they ever wasted their learning or ingenuity upon obsolete systems of Law ; and though Marculf's formularies were excellent for the times of the Merovingians, they were of no great use in those of Serlon. Under these circumstances, I conclude that Robert had taken our story of Salomon and Marcolf for his subject ; and if this opinion be correct, it will appear that in the twelfth century one man could still write a serious comment upon it, while another could turn it into ridicule : in other words, that the twelfth century may be considered as the limit between the two feelings, and the period of transition from one to the other.

But in the very beginning of the next century we have the clearest evidence that a complete change had taken place, both in Germany and France. Freidank, about 1213, says :—

Salmôn witze lêrte  
 Marolt daz verkêrte,  
 den site hânt noch hiute  
 leider gnuoge liute\* :

that is, “ Salomon taught wisdom, Marolt parodied it ; unhappily people enough have the same habit at the present

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\* I quote from W. Grimm's edition, p. 81, but as this may not be generally accessible, it will be desirable to give other references to the passage. It is found in Müller's *Sammlung*, vol. ii. v. 1281, and is quoted from thence in Von der Hagen's Introduction to his edition of the German Salomon and Morolf. *Deut. Gedichte des Mittelalters*, vol. ii. The only important variation is in the fourth line, where Müller's MS. reads *iunge*, young, for *gnuoge*, enough.

day." The word *verkéren* precisely describes the answers which Salomon receives from Marcolf in the German and Latin versions. That the same thing had taken place in France, at the same period, will be seen when I come to treat of the French versions. The only forms which remain in German, Latin or French, are of the second or altered nature, with one exception, which I will dispose of immediately. And as the two first-named are closely connected together, not only by their internal resemblance, but by an express acknowledgment, that *the German was taken from a Latin original*, it will be better not to separate them in what I have to say.

There are two German legends bearing the title Salomon and Morolt, or Morolf: both of these are printed by Von der Hagen in the second volume of the *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, from a MS. of the fifteenth century; and although it may be doubted whether either of them in its present form is as old as Freidank, and consequently whether the allusion which he makes is to the poem which yet survives, it is quite certain that both are of much older date than the MS. which contains them. The first, and certainly the younger of these, is the exception alluded to; it has little but the name in common with the other forms of the legend; it is, in short, a romance of chivalry, and with other names might have been any one of the knightly legends, as will be seen by a short analysis of its contents:—

Salomon, emperor of all Christendom, and, as appears from many passages in the poem, a Teutonic emperor, has a beautiful wife Salomé, who, after living happily three years with him, partly from the influence of magical arts, and partly from natural disposition, becomes worthless. A certain king named Faro, dwelling on the shores of the Mediterranean, hearing of her beauty, challenges Salomon to do battle for her, and being with his

whole host defeated, and made prisoner, is rashly spared by Salomon, and committed to the safe keeping of the empress. Here Morolf, Salomon's brother, first comes before us; he warns the emperor against throwing temptation in the empress's way, but gets nothing for his pains but rebukes from the uxorious prince, and hatred from his wife. His warnings are nevertheless justified by the event: the *heathen*, by means of a magical ring\*, made for him by Elias the sorcerer†, wins the love of the lady, and is not only released by her from his bonds, but persuades her to leave her husband and fly to him. At the expiration of half a year, he sends her, by a heathen minstrel, a root, which she places under her tongue, and becomes to all appearance dead, save that her beautiful colour remains unchanged. Salomon is inconsolable; Morolf however, who will not trust a woman even when dead‡, twits him with weakness, declares the queen still to be alive, but, being foiled by the magical root in an attempt to wake her by pouring molten gold into her hand, is compelled to trust to time, and in the meanwhile bear the blame of being an incorrigible reviler of women. The empress is buried, but within a few hours awakened by the minstrel, and carried off to Faro. Morolf sets out to seek her; after seven years' wandering he discovers where she is, and enters her palace, where he is recognised by her, and condemned to death. He obtains a respite of some hours, and having

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\* Rings endowed with the power of inspiring, destroying or changing affection are not uncommon. The affection borne by Charlemagne for Aix-la-Chapelle arose from such a ring. A lady had first possessed it, and then the emperor loved the lady: a bishop took it from her, and the emperor doted on the bishop; he, however, flung it into a lake, and on its banks the emperor built a palace, which he made his favourite residence when alive, and away from which he could not rest when dead. See also *Wilkins Sag.* ch. 222.

† Probably Elymas the sorcerer. Acts xiii. 8.

‡ Compare the second Morolf, No. 7.

intoxicated his guards, clips the hair both of them and of the king, puts Faro to bed with one of his pages, and the empress with Faro's chaplain: after these feats he escapes to Jerusalem under water, by means of a long leathern tube, which permits of his breathing from the surface. Salomon, Morolf, and a large host, including two knights of the Temple (l. 2575)\*, set out to recover the empress, by whom Salomon, entering Faro's city alone, is recognised: he attempts, but in vain, to recall her to her duty. A graceful episode is introduced, in which Faro's sister, smitten with uncontrollable love for the young and beautiful pilgrim, advises him to conciliate the heathen. Salomon however, betrayed by his wife, and asked by Faro what he would do with *him* were they in Jerusalem, answers like an emperor, that he would hang him on a new gallows, with all the court for witnesses. This doom the king then assures him he has pronounced against himself; but, after the most urgent intercession on the part of the king's sister, he is spared till morning and committed to her custody. She urges him to avail himself of this liberty and make his escape; but Salomon is too loyal to do so, when he must leave her behind to meet the rage of her brother. At day-break, after having spent the night royally in supping with the beautiful heathen and listening to the lays of a famous minstrel, he is led out to execution. Under the gallows he asks, as a last favour, permission to blow his horn thrice †, pretexting that when emperors die this ceremony takes place, that the angels may have notice.

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\* Templars would hardly have been introduced, had the poem been written after the downfall of their order. This would at any rate give us a date not later than the beginning of the fourteenth century.

† See Southey's Don Ramiro and Queen Aldonza. The character and history of this lady so closely resemble those of Salomé, that one can hardly help believing Southey's author to have known some Spanish story very closely resembling that under our consideration. Faro says, "Let

The empress objects, but is overruled by Faro; the horn being sounded, Morolf and his host burst from their ambush, slay the host of the heathen, and having again taken Faro, hang him upon his own gallows. Salomon returns with the empress and Faro's sister to Jerusalem, where the latter is baptized by the name of Afra or Affrica (l. 3192 and l. 4212), being principally moved to this apostacy by the hope of becoming Salomon's wife, as soon as death or another infidelity on the part of Salomé shall create a vacancy in his household. The latter contingency is not long in occurring: the empress runs away with another heathen, King Princian, but is again discovered by Morolf, who however does not set out upon this new quest before he has compelled Salomon to swear that, in the event of his recovering the runaway, he shall deal with her at his pleasure. Salomon, Morolf, and a great host invade King Princian's land, and, aided by the supernatural powers of his kinsfolk\*, a merman and mermaid, Morolf slays the king, carries the empress back to Jerusalem, and there puts her to death in a bath. Salomon consoles himself with Afra.

It will hardly be suspected from this sketch what beauty there is in some portions of this poem; the character of Afra, for example, is drawn with some feminine traits which are not often found in romances of this class. Salomon appears much after the received account, as very wise, but no match whatever for the wiles of women. Princian and Faro

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him blow, if he will, till his eyes drop out of his head;" and so says the curtal friar to a similar request of Robin Hood (Ritson, ii. 66):—

That I will do, said the curtal fryer,  
Of thy blasts I have no doubt;  
I hope thou 'lt blow so passing well,  
Till both thy eyes fall out.

So in the Appendix to the same volume, p. 197, which see.

\* Although a supernatural character belongs to Marcolf or Morolf, I cannot agree with Mone in connecting his name with *Alf*, *Elf*.



are knightly heathens of Saladin's order, worthy to rank with the Almohadis and Abencerrages of Granada; but Morolf is the protagonist, and his character, differing entirely from those which are usually found in a chivalrous romance, will bear a little more investigation. There are two points in which he agrees with the Marcolf of our other versions, viz. his cunning and his extreme scepticism as to the goodness and steadiness of women. The whole poem turns upon his successful sleights, which it is therefore unnecessary to pursue further; a general expression of them may be quoted from a speech of the empress to Faro: when, having determined to do a bad act, she begins to be sharp-witted as to what persons she need fear, she remarks (l. 533):—

Konig, lass dîn rede stan,  
ess wart nye gebarn eyn man  
der Morolffen mit listen  
das czehende deil glichen kan:  
er siecht an der farben mÿn  
sprach die edele konigin—  
wan sich mÿn gemude verkêret hât:

that is, "King, let be thy rede; there was never born a man who could be a tenth part compared to Morolf for cunning: he would see by my very complexion, quoth the noble queen, if my mind were changed." His no-trust in woman comes continually before us, though usually with an especial application to the empress: when he first hears that Faro is to be entrusted to her keeping, he remarks (l. 432):—

das duncket mich nit gut;  
wer stroe noe czu dem fure dut\*,  
lieht czundet es sich an;  
alsô beschieht dir mit künig Pharo,  
wiltu dîn frauwe sîn hude lân.

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\* A good old Teutonic proverb: it stands thus, Conrad von Würzburg. Troj. Krieg, 117. a.

Ein strò, daz bî dem fure lit,  
daz wird enzündet lîhter an  
denne ob ez dort hin dan  
von im gelegin wære.

Again,

“Methinks that is not good ; whoso doth straw near unto the fire, it catcheth light easily ; so will it befall thee with king Faro, if thou wilt leave his keeping to thy wife.” Again, he expresses his own opinion generally in these words :—

wer ich also wise als dâ, Salomon,  
und were also schöne als Absolon,  
und sunge also woll als Horant\*,  
möchte ich mÿn frouw nît beschloffen,  
ich hede eyn laster an der hant. (L. 800.)

It is, then, in these two points that the Morolf of this romance is identified with the Morolf, or rather Marcolf, of our legend. This romance is throughout expressly stated to be taken from a German book. The *second* Salomon and Morolf had however another source.

At the end of the poem last mentioned stands this line, “Hie hait Morolff’s rede eyn ende, vnd vahet an der ander Morolff,” that is, “Here hath the tale of Morolf an end, and beginneth the second Morolf.” It is this poem, which is the German representative of the legend, with which we shall henceforth have to do. In the very first lines, the poet describes himself and his authority thus :—

Er hânt dick woll verstanden  
wie man findet in allen landen  
die wÿsen by den doren :  
wer nû gerne will horen,  
dem wolde ich fremde mære sagen,  
die nÿmant obel mag behagen.

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Again, Wolfram’s Titarel (Grimm, Freidank, ci.) :—

wan sich ein strô  
bî fiure gerne enbrennet.

Freidank, p. 121 :—

swâ viur ist bî dem strô,  
daz brinnet lihte, kumt ez sô.

Chaucer, Wife of B. (Urry, p. 77) :—

Perill is for fire and tow to assemble,  
Ye know what this ensample may resemble.

\* For Horant consult W. Grimm’s *Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 326, etc., where several passages relating to this celebrated bard are collected.

Ich sass in der czellen myn,  
 vnd fant eyn buch das was Latin ;  
 in dem selben buche fant ich  
 vil wort die nît hoffelich  
 lûten in Dutsche czungen.  
 Ich bede alde vnde jungen,  
 die dâ lesent, als hie geschriben steit,  
 dass mich ir aller hubscheit  
 intschuldigen vmb das,  
 wan ich nît czu Dutsche bas  
 mochte gewenden das Latin,  
 dass ess behilde das daden sfn.

“Ye have often well understood how, in every land, one finds the wise man by the side of the fool : he now that would willingly hear, to him will I relate a strange tale, which no man can take ill. I sat within my cell, and found a book that was [written in] Latin : in the same book I found many words which do not sound polite in the German tongue. I pray old and young that read [the story] as it stands here written, that of their courtesy they will excuse me, for that I could not turn the Latin into German better, so that it should still preserve its force\*.” I think it hardly deserves a

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\* Various readings from the Heid. MSS. No. 154. (15th cent. fol. paper.) Wilk. p. 364 [fol. 125]. “Dyss ist Salomon und Marolffen sprüche die sie myt eyn ander hatten mit mangen cluogen Worten.

*Incip.*—Ich han dicke horē sagen  
 Wie man fant in allen dagen  
 Die wisen bij den toren  
 Wer nu wille gerne horen  
 Dem wille ich fremde mere sagē  
 Die nyemā vbel mag behagē  
 Ich sass in eyner zellen myn  
 Vnd want eyn buch daz was laty  
 In demselben buch fant ich  
 Viel wort die mich so hubschlich  
 Enludetē in dutscher zügen  
 Her vmb so byttē ich die alten vnd die jügen  
 Die da lesen alss hie geschrebē stett  
 Daz mich ere aller hubschheit

[Entschuldigē]

question whether *Latin* here be really the language of the Romans, or generally *any* foreign tongue\*; it is no doubt *Latin* in the modern sense of the term. Whether we yet possess the Latin from which this German version was taken, is a point which must be discussed hereafter. At present it is necessary to explain that the *second* Morolf consists of two utterly inconsistent portions, to the first of which 1604 lines are devoted, to the second, 272; and as I have stated it to be my opinion, that the *first* or romantic Morolf, is in spirit, feeling and date, younger than the *second* Morolf, (that is, than the first 1604 lines of that poem) so am I bound to state, that the last 272 lines are a modern, vulgar

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Entschuldigē wolle vmb daz  
 Wan ich mich zu tutsche bas  
 Enmochte bewēden daz latyn  
 Daz iss behilde dutschen syen, etc.

*Explic.*—In latyn waz geschrieven disse rede  
 Die ich dorch schymp vnd dorch bede  
 In tusche han gewant  
 Vff daz sie uch wol werde bekannt  
 Ich han vnkuscher worte vile  
 Vnd morolff's affenspiele  
 Geschrieben in diss buchelyn  
 Dorch lust vnd shymp den frunden myn  
 Is sy frauwe oder man  
 Die dyss buch horen lesen oder lesen kan  
 Die sollen myr vergeben  
 Obe ich ycht geschrieven han vneben  
 Wann ich enbin nicht so behende  
 Daz ich iss kunde bringen zu eym andern ende  
 Dann daz mich daz latyn bescheyden hatt  
 Hudent vch vor rustery daz ist myn rat  
 Hie hat Marolffes buch eyn ende  
 Got vns tzu dem besten wende.

\* See an excellent dissertation of James Grimm in the Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeige, on the force of the words Latein, Leden, etc. etc.; he shows its wide dispersion through Southern and Northern Europe, and throws out some remarkable observations respecting Welsh, Walahisc, Wylsc, Welsch, etc.

and most ill-placed imitation of the *first* Morolf, in which the part played by the emperor's brother is transferred to the jester or clown, his namesake, or, to speak more truly, his unromantic counterpart and predecessor, from whom alone he drew the possibility of his own being.

As a Latin version is asserted by the author of the *second* Morolf to have been his authority, so did it also give rise to another German poetical version by Gregor Hayden. This was made about the middle of the fifteenth century, and dedicated to Frederick, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg, in the Palatinate. The author expressly states that he took the story from a Latin original; he says,

Lateynisch ich die hystory han  
funden vnd in Teutsch gerichtet,

“I found the story in Latin, and have arranged it in German.”

Both these German versions, as well as the Latin, correspond accurately with one another in the general outline, and indeed in many details also of the story. A short analysis of it, insofar as all the versions agree, becomes necessary.

Salomon, sitting in all his glory upon the throne of David his father, sees a misshapen, coarse and clownish man come into his presence, accompanied by a foul slut-tish wife, every way answering to himself. This is Marcolf, who, on mentioning his name, is recognised by the king as a person famous for his shrewdness and wit, and immediately challenged to a trial of wisdom, with a promise of great rewards should he prove victorious. Salomon then begins this amcebean contest by certain moral commonplaces, or by some of his own biblical proverbs, which are immediately paralleled, or contradicted by Marcolf, and always ridiculed in the very coarsest terms. The contest long continues, Marcolf always drawing his illustrations from the commonest events of homely life,

and for the most part expressing himself in *popular proverbs*. The king is at last completely exhausted, and proposes to discontinue the trial, but Marcolf declares himself ready to go on, and calls upon the king to confess himself beaten and give the promised rewards. The councillors of Salomon, stirred with envy, are for driving Marcolf out of the court; but the king interposes, performs his promise, and dismisses his adversary with gifts. Marcolf leaves the court, according to one version, with the noble remark, "Ubi non est Lex, ibi non est Rex."

Here ends, both in the German and Latin, what may be called the first subdivision of the legend; it is that with which hereafter we shall have most to do, and is in fact all that answers to the Anglo-Saxon Dialogues on the one hand, and the French on the other. What follows contains a story, found only in the German and Latin versions, and such others as may be reasonably supposed to have sprung up through their influence.

Salomon, being out hunting, comes suddenly upon Marcolf's hut, and calling upon him, receives a number of riddling answers which completely foil him, and for a solution of which he is compelled to have recourse to the proposer. He departs however in good humour, desiring Marcolf to come the next day to court, and bring with him a pail of fresh milk and curds from the cow. This Marcolf does, but falling hungry on the road, eats the curds and covers up the milk with cow-dung. The king in a rage asks him where are the curds, and receives for answer the truth; Marcolf adding, that what he had used to cover the milk was also "curd from the cow." The king condemns him to sit up all night in his company, threatening him with death in the morning should he fall asleep. This Marcolf of course immedi-

ately does, and snores aloud. Salomon asks, "Sleepest thou?" and Marcolf replies, "No, I think." "What thinkest thou?" "That there are as many vertebræ in the hare's tail as in his back-bone." The king, assured that he has now entrapped his adversary, replies, "If thou provest not this, thou diest in the morning." Over and over again Marcolf snores and is awakened by Salomon, but he is always *thinking*, and in the course of the night gives the following answers, which he is to prove true on pain of death:—There are as many white as black feathers in the magpie\*.—There is nothing whiter than daylight; daylight is whiter than milk.—Nothing can safely be entrusted to a woman.—Nature is stronger than education.

Salomon becoming sleepy, Marcolf leaves him, and runs to his sister Fudasa, to whom, under seal of secrecy, he confesses that the king has so ill-used him, that he intends to kill him with a knife, which, in her presence, he conceals in his bosom. She swears fidelity to him, and he returns so as to be present at the king's waking. A hare and magpie being brought, Marcolf is proved to be in the right. Meanwhile he places a

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\* It is hard to say whether this assertion rests upon a popular proverb, or whether the passage I am about to cite is derived from our story: the tone of natural philosophy during the middle ages is in favour of the former of the two suppositions. In the MS. Harl. 3362, fol. 3, is found the following, at first sight, unintelligible hexameter:—

Al pi pen ca has tot habet ni nas quot habet gras.

When these absurd syllables are reduced to order, they amount to nothing more profound than the assertion in the text, viz.—

Albas pica pennas tot habet quot habet nigras.

The MS., though only of the fourteenth century, comprises far more ancient matter, and the collection of proverbs contained in it, and in which this line occurs, is one of the most valuable I am acquainted with. The above Latin line is accompanied by the five English words, "pe pye hath as many," which gave me the clue to its meaning.

pan of milk in a dark closet, and suddenly calls the king to him. On entering, Salomon steps into the milk, splashes his clothes, and very nearly falls on his face. "Son of Perdition! what does this mean?" roars the monarch. "May it please your majesty," says Marcolf, "merely to show you that milk is not whiter than daylight." Salomon now sits upon his throne, and Marcolf cites Fudasa before him, accusing her of incontinency and various other crimes. She retorts immediately by discovering his secret communication to her respecting the murder of the king, and thus affords him a fresh triumph by proving the justice of his remarks respecting woman's secrecy. Salomon now, amidst the laughter of the whole court, requests Marcolf to show that nature is stronger than education\*: Marcolf says that it shall be proved at supper-time. Now it so befell, that Salomon had a cat trained to sit upon the table, and hold a lighted candle in its front paws during the king's supper: but when all are seated and the cat is at her post, Marcolf throws a mouse at her feet; a second is thrown, and the cat's resolution wavers, till a third being let loose before her, she throws down the taper and commences the chase. Salomon most unfairly commands him to be thrust out at door, and directs that the dogs should be let loose upon him should he return. The next day however Marcolf, having provided himself with a live hare, throws it to the dogs, and passes unhurt into the presence†. Salomon is contented to warn

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\* This is a *questio vexata*; perhaps as many tales and proverbs can be found taking the one side as the other, though, unless I am mistaken, the Southerns generally incline to the belief that custom is stronger than nature. "Nodritura passa Natura," *Grüter*, p. 167. "Nourriture passe Nature," *id.* p. 227. But, "Art last von Art nit: die katz lasst ihres mausens nich," *id.* p. 6. *Conf.* Gartn. Dict. Prov. 76, b.

† See a similar device of Thorkil, Sax. Gramm. lib. viii. (Steph. ed. p. 162.)



him against committing any impropriety in the hall of audience, and more particularly recommends him not to spit, except on some bare spot. This bare spot, unhappily the only one in the room, is the bald head of one of the nobles. While the courtiers are murmuring that such a villain should immediately be kicked out of the court, the two harlots arrive, and the famous judgment is given\*. At this Marcolf sneers, and taking from it occasion to abuse womankind in general, an altercation ensues between him and the king, which he winds up by saying, "You praise them now, but I shall live to hear you abuse them with all your heart." Salomon orders him out of his sight, and Marcolf immediately sets about finding the harlots: he tells them that the king has decreed that every man shall have seven wives, descanting at some length upon the mischiefs which are like to ensue from such an arrangement. The news flies like wildfire, and all the women of Jerusalem are speedily congregated under the windows of the palace, upbraiding Salomon in no measured terms. The king, not understanding the cause of their complaints, ventures a joke, but is assailed with such a tempest of abuse, that he loses all patience, and breaks out into a furious diatribe against women, to the great delight of Marcolf, who stands by and thanks the king for taking so much pains to prove the truth of all his assertions. Salomon perceiving the trick appeases the women, but orders Marcolf to be turned out of the court, saying, "Never let me look upon your ugly face again." Marcolf however is determined not to part thus: on a snowy night he contrives to make an extraordinary track, which in the morning allures the king and his

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\* This is strange, because it is alluded to as a past circumstance in the beginning of the dialogue.

courtiers to follow him into the forest; the king pursues this till it leads into a hollow tree, wherein Marcolf has so disposed his person that Salomon is quite secure from looking into his face\*. The king immediately orders him to be hanged, but, being adjured for the love of ladies to allow of his choosing his own tree, grants the request: it will readily be conjectured that Marcolf is difficult to please†; he leads his guards backwards and forwards half over Palestine, and finds never a tree to his liking, till at length he so thoroughly wearies them, that, upon his promising to forswear the court, they dismiss him with life.

Such is the famous story contained in the Latin and German versions, and in them only. It occupies 1604 lines of the *second* Morolf, and is in that poem followed by the abridgement of the *first* Morolf already mentioned, and which requires no further notice whatever. Both the German versions are expressly referred to Latin originals, which it is therefore expedient now to take into consideration. Of these I have as yet never had the fortune to find any in MSS., so that any attempt at ascertaining their antiquity by the ordinary means must be relinquished. Dom Brial, in the paper already alluded to, quotes a MS. of the Vatican for a Salomon and Micoll which begins, "Nemo potens est," etc.‡.

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\* This is (singularly, but still very interestingly for those who care for *mythic* tradition) given successively to George Buchanan, for the nonce transferred into the jester of James the First; to Rochester in connexion with Charles the Second; and, I believe, to M. de Roquelaure, the French embodier of all these notions.

† Perhaps to some tradition of this story we owe the proverb found in Ray, p. 57, "If I be hanged, I'll choose my gallows." So Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 16.

‡ I suppose that this is nothing else than the Latin *Certamen*, which I have printed under the title "Traces of the story in England." There is no doubt that "Nemo potens est" and "Nemo potest" might be very easily confounded in copying.

Unhappily he gives no further account of the contents, and, what is still more careless, does not even note the No. of the MS. Micoll is no doubt only a false reading of a common contraction in MSS., and may be at once and unhesitatingly corrected into Marcol. From the few words given by Dom Brial, one can hardly tell whether the version is in prose or not; and, at any rate, it appears not to have resembled the German and Latin versions yet remaining, which begin with the account of Salomon sitting in all his glory. Haenel, in his Catalogue of the European MSS., p. 422, mentions at Strasbourg an "Altercatio Salomonis et Marculphi"; but, with a negligence which too often renders his laborious work worse than useless, he has given no sort of clue by which it may be guessed whether this version be in prose or verse, even whether it really be in Latin or in some other language. I believe however that it is a copy of the German poem, but have been able to meet with no specimen of it. In this dearth of MSS. we must have recourse, as far as we can, to the printed copies, some of which date from the fifteenth century, and are consequently contemporary at least with Hayden's version; but though only appearing in print about this period, they may have existed in MS. far earlier, and probably were well-known and favourite works, being found among the earliest productions of the press.

The first of these is, I believe, a quarto, without printer's name, place or year, but which appeared in all probability about 1483; it bore the title "Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolfi." Of this there was a copy in the library of M. de Brienne, which is thus described in Le Père Laire's Catalogue of Books printed before 1500: "Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolfi. 4°. Pagina prima viticulis ornatur, cum una figura ligno incisa: signatur ab *a* ad *b* iij. Character Gothicus, circa annum 1483."

The next is perhaps that printed at Antwerp by Ger. Leeu

in quarto, but this is also undated. Panzer seems, indeed, to speak vaguely of an edition of the year 1482\*, but this is probably only the edition mentioned by Laire.

The next is a quarto printed at Antwerp (by Ger. Leeu?) in 1487, with the title "Salomonis et Marcolphi Dialogus."

The next is of the year 1488, and was found by Nyerup in the library at Copenhagen. It consists of twelve leaves in quarto, with the following title: "Collationes, quas dicuntur fecisse mutus [mutuo] Rex Salomon sapientissimus, et Marcolphus, facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen ut fertur eloquentissimus;" and with the colophon, "Finit Dialogus ut fertur inter Salomonem Regem et Marcolphum Rusticum, impressus A.D. 1488, vicessima Novembris."

Another edition, consisting of ten leaves in quarto, without date or place, was discovered by him in the same library; it bore the title, "Collationes (quas dicuntur fecisse mutus [mutuo] Rex Salomon sapientissimus, et Marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen ut fertur eloquentissimus) sequuntur." Of these Nyerup gave an account in Bragur, iii. 358.

Another edition, reading *mutuo*, and consisting of eight leaves with signatures, in Gothic type and anterior to 1500, is mentioned by Ebert.

Another, consisting of twelve leaves, undated, and with the signatures *a* and *b*, appears, from the same bibliographer, to be found in the library at Dresden.

A copy in the British Museum with the title "Dyalogus Salomonis et Marcolfi," consists of eleven quarto leaves; without date, place, name, or signatures. The initials are coloured red and yellow. "Expl. Sit laus Deo. Amen." This is evidently anterior to 1500, and is probably one of the oldest copies in existence.

An undated copy, quarto, Argentinæ; reprinted by Sir Alex-

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\* Given also by Ebert, without place or printer's name,—probably from Panzer.

ander Boswell in his 'Frondes Caducæ,' 1816, with the following title: "Frondes Caducæ. Dialogi duo Rerum Verborum qve Lepore, et Copia insignes: quorum prior, continet colloquium inter Deum et Euam (vt ferunt) eiusque liberos, posterior Salomonis et Marcolphi iucundissimam decertationem proponit. *Argentinae, s. a.* 4°. 1816." In this edition the dialogue bears the title "Disputationes," etc., which see below.

In the 'Iris and Hebe,' 1796, Nyerup gave an account of two more editions: the first without year or place, but probably about 1483, with red initials (vid. Nyerup, Spicileg. Bibliog. p. 54); the second printed at Nürnberg, by John Weysenburger, about 1487.

In the library of Halle there is a copy consisting of twelve leaves in small folio. The first leaf is empty, and there is neither title, year, nor place. The initials and capitals are red.

Another edition in Von der Hagen's possession agrees page for page with the last-named, but its form and type are somewhat smaller. The spaces are left for initials, and the red capitals are wanting. It has a rude woodcut of Salomon and Marcolf, and bears the following title: "Incipiunt collationes quas dicuntur fecisse munrex salomon sapientissimus et marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen vt fertur eloquentissimus, feliciter."

A fine copy in the Göttingen University Library differs from all those above mentioned: it has neither year, place, nor printer's name: it consists of twelve quarto leaves, with signatures to *b* iii. The capitals and initials are red; but the first initial of the whole is wanting, and a space is left. On the title-page is a coloured woodcut of Salomon and Marcolf, surmounted by the following title: "Incipiunt collationes quas dicuntur fecisse mutuo Rex salomon sapientissimus et marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus tamen vt fertur eloquentissimus fœliciter."

There are two other editions, both anterior to 1500, one of which Panzer mentions as consisting of eleven leaves in quarto, without name, place or date (See Brunet, Manuel, etc.); but this is perhaps the version quoted by Ebert under the title "Dyalogus Salomonis et Marcolfj" (Eustadtii, Reuser). Of this last there is another undated quarto in Gothic type, consisting of twelve leaves, and furnished with woodcuts.

In the supplement to Brunet, an edition without name, place or date is quoted under the title, "Salomon et Marcolphus collocutores," quarto, and a reference is given to the Catalogue Boutourlin, No. 778.

In the year 1585 appeared at Frankfort, "Dicta Proverbialia, etc. cum versione Germanica Andreæ Gartneri Mariemontani," to which was appended the Marcolphus, with, if I remember rightly, the same title which it bore in the later editions, viz. "Marcolphus. Disputationes, quas dicuntur habuisse inter se mutuo Rex Salomon sapientissimus, et Marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen ut fertur, eloquentissimus: latinitate donatæ, et nunc primum animi et *salsi* leporis gratia, editæ."

Another edition of this book, 8vo, Frankfort 1598, with this dialogue appended under the same title, is found in the library at Wolfenbüttel, where Eschenburg saw it, and noticed it in Bragur, ii. 457. It was afterwards appended by Gartner to the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum,' Frankf. 1643 (but not to the edition of 1599), with a slight but important change in the title, the conclusion of which now stands, "latinitate donatæ, et nunc primum, animi et *falsi* leporis gratia, editæ."

The question at once arises, Is any one of these Latin versions the original of Hayden's translation, and of the second Morolf? Von der Hagen, who scarcely seems aware of the existence of the earlier Latin copies, assumes that Gartner's version is the source of the German poems, and fortifies his opinion by a long comparison of this Morolf with Gartner's

Latin. Upon this point I differ from him entirely : the same comparison convinces me that the German had other sources ; even Gartner's express words in the title to the edition of 1585 import that his Latin was a translation, then for the first time made, of something or other, probably of one of the German prose copies hereafter to be mentioned : this at least seems to me to be the meaning of his "latinitate donatæ, et nunc primum editæ." A far more important evidence, however, is to be found in a comparison of the proverbial answers given by Morolf with those of Marcolphus ; and on this account, as well as for the better illustration of the part of the story which is of most interest and importance to its history, viz. that which contains these proverbial answers, I now print them from a MS. hitherto inedited, adding the various readings of Von der Hagen and Büsching's text, to which the numbers here refer.

## A.

Dyss ist Salomon vnd Marolffen Sprüche, die sie myt eynander hatten mit mangan cluogen Worten. Bibl. Palat. (Heidelb.) No. 154. fol. 125. (15n. Jahrh. fol. papier, Wilk. Catalog. p. 364.)

- 1 SALOMON zu dem man sprach  
 dâ er sie beyde wole besach  
 dâ bist sô recht von wortten rich  
 mich duncket gut daz dâ vnd ich  
 mit wortten zusamen disputieren  
 kanstû mÿn wort soluieren  
 ich wil dich rich machen  
 mit mancher hande sachen.

## VARIOUS READINGS.

1. Czv. manne. die beide woll. rechte warterich. warten mit eyn disputeren. kanstu myn frage dan falsiferen. riche.

- M. is gleibet mancher an vnderscheit  
 daz doch in sýner gewalt nicht enstet  
 der vbel synget der synget alleziit an  
 also duo dá vnder kom dar van.
- 2 S. ich fant eyn orteil daz zwei wíp  
 kriegeten vmb eyns kyndes libe  
 daz eyn waz blieben tód  
 sýner mutter wart daz geben alss ich bó(d)
- M. dá vil kúwe synt dá ist kese vil  
 glícher wíse ich sprechen wil  
 die wíber klauffent ússer mássen  
 wo sie myt eynander gent úff der strassen.
- 3 S. got hát myr wisheit geben  
 oben allen mentschen die nuo leben
- M. wer bóse nachgebúre hát  
 der lobe sich selber daz ist myn rá.
- 4 S. der schuldige dicke fuhet  
 alss daz gericht na ym zuhet
- M. wer sich beschisset al mit alle  
 der forchtet die lude riechent daz alle.
- 5 6 S. eyn gut wýp zuchtig vnd schoen  
 die ist yres mannes krón.
- M. welches wíp sich mit dyr wil schelten  
 die soltú loben selten.
- 7 S. eyme bósen wíbe enmag nicht glíchen  
 mit bóssheit in allen richen.
- M. eyme bósen wíbe zubreich schier die beyn  
 vnd lege darúff eynen grössen steyn

M. gelobet. gesondikeit. das an siner gewelde nit in steit. der singe an. also du auch du vnd singe an. 2. S. das vrteil da. czwey wypp. kriegten. kindes lyp. das ander was da blieben dot. der muder ich das czu geben bot. M. ist. will. das wibe claffen. gent mit eyn. 3. S. Got der hat mir wisheit. vor allen luden die da. M. nochgeburen. das. 4. S. so ymant iagende noch yme czuhet. M. mit schalle. vor den luden sie richent ess. 5. Eyn gut wypp vnd schone. Die ist yres mannes krone. M. Eyn duppen mit milch foll. Sal man huden vor den katzen woll. 6. S. Eyn gut wypp sanffte gemut. Die ist gut uber alles gut. M. Begynnet sie dich schelden. Du salt sie laben seldom. 7. S. wibe mag nit. M. Stirbet sie so b:iche ir die bein. uff sie. steyn.



- noch dan soltû sorge hân  
sie solle balde wieder uff irstan.
- 8 S. daz wise wîp bûwet alde hûser wïedder  
daz dorecht wîp brichet nâwe hûser nyeder.  
M. der kauff enwart noch nye glich  
uff erden vnd in hymmelrich.
- 9 S. eyn schôn wîp wol gecleydet  
irme mane dicke fraude bereydet.  
M. die katzen die schône belcze tragen  
des belczeners hercze sie dicke erwegen.
- 10 S. geselle dû solt myr sagen  
des daz ich dich in ernste fragen.  
wo vindet man eyn wîp starke vnd stede  
die vmb keyn gut missedete?  
M. weres daz myr eyn katz gelubde têde  
sie enwolde frû oder spêde  
der miliche nicht beruren  
gleubete ich ir es were verloren.
- 11 S. wiltû mit êren bliben  
so kêre dÿn syen von bôsen schelden wÿben.  
M. die fetten wibe die fistent sêre  
dÿne nasen von irme locher kêre.
- 12 S. welchen man die bôssheit snÿdet  
von rechten der alle bôssheit mÿdet.  
M. welich man drischet mich dan kabe  
dem wirt nicht danne gestuppe darabe.
- 13 S. wer hôhe stÿget der sehe vor sich wol  
daz er icht nyeder falle zu tâle.

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Dannach magstu. Sie sulde wieder uffstan. 8. S. Das wyse wypp buwet huse wede. Die dorecht ist die worffet sie neder. M. en wart nye. noch yn. 9. schones wypp geclaidet. Dick erme manne. bereidet. M. Eyn katze die schones fel dreit. Des belczers hercze darnach streit. 10. Solmon sprach. salt mir. Geselle das ich hint fragen. M. wo findet man eyn wypp starg vnd stede? Obe mir eyn katze vil eide dede. Sie in wolde der milch nit bekorn. Gleubet ich er iss wer verlorn. 11. S. by eren verliben. din fliss von schellenden wiben. M. wibe fisten. Die nase von jrme loche. 12. S. Wer da bossheit sewet. Mit recht er alle bossheit mewet. M. Wo eyn man sebet kese [kebe]. Der yne mewet nit dan besteppe darabe. 13. S. Wer da steht der hude sich woll. Das er nit falle czu dall.

- M. man besluset zu spåde den hoff  
wann der wolffe hát erworget die schaff.
- 14 S. bii wilén wyr(t) der hunt gealagen  
ymb daz die frauwe hát gethân.
- M. wanne dem wibe eyn fiste engëtt  
iren hunt sie darumme sleget  
vnd sprichet wol hyn daz dû sis verwassin  
wie vbel hastú hinden abe gelassen.
- 15 S. lérunge vnd wissheit  
in dýnem munde sy allezeit bereit.
- M. als geboren wirt das rê  
so wyr(t) ym dar ars wiss als der snê.
- 16 S. wer sich selber lobet  
des lob nicht wol enhobet.
- M. wolde ich mich selber schelden  
so lobete mich eyn ander seldom.
- 17 S. wýn brynget vnkuscheit  
der trunckene macht dicke herzeleit.
- M. den armen machet rich der wýn  
des sol er allezeit truncken sýn.
- 18 S. dem manne gerne wieder ferct  
der lange beydet des er begert.
- M. wer beydet daz ym eyn katze brynget eyn kalp  
der verlúset sýn beyden mê danne halp.
- 19 S. vyl hungen gessen ist allezeit nicht gut  
darvon so kère dýnen mud.
- M. wer von den beynen lecken kan  
den lecken auch sinen dûmen darvon.
- 20 S. man sprichet sunder hale  
die wissheit schúwet dy bôsen quale.

---

M. Man beset czu spade das kloss. So der fuss gewinnet den stoss.  
14. S. Der hunt wirt czu wilén geslan. Vmb das der lebe hat gedan.  
M. wan. fist inget. Ir hundelin sie darvmb slet. spricht woll hin du  
sist. Du hast hinden offen gelassen. 15. S. In dyme monde sie gereit.  
M. So gebarn. der reh. Eme wesset der ars. 16. S. labet. sin lopp nit  
woll in habet. M. Mych sulde ymant laben seldom. 17. S. brenget. Wer  
druncken ist der stiftet leit. M. win. Sulde er. druncken sin. 18. S. Dem  
man gern wiederfert. Der woll beidet das er gert. M. Der da beidet bit  
sin katze brenget. Sin beiden. dan. 19. S. Vil honiges gessen en ist nit.  
Dan abe kere. mut. M. Der die figen bitten kan. Synen dumen lecket  
der selbe man. 20. S. spricht. hele. Dem vngetruwen nicht befele.

- M. er ist in guden wiczen lass  
der luegen die warheit treget hass.
- 21 S. is ist böse widder stocke streben  
dem tragen esel sol man streiche geben.  
M. gut vnd böse fullet daz hûss  
die nicht dan eyn loch hât daz ist eyn arm mûss.
- 22 S. is ist besser eyn cleyn schazunge heymlich zwâr  
dann grössen schâden gelitten offenbâre.  
M. wer vor den ars kusset den hunt  
licht wyrt ym sÿn fisten kont.
- 22\* S. almusse vnd êre der begeit  
der frumden luden bii besteit  
vnd hubischeit deme fremden tûd  
ymb got oder ymb sÿn gud.  
M. nyemant dy frommen schelten sol  
er mochte es anders engelten wol.  
man ist manches gastes frô  
der hynden nâch schisset in daz strô.
- 23 S. der milden frôliche gebêre  
ist got vnd den luden mère.  
M. sÿnen dienern gibet er cleyne  
der sÿn mûss isset alleyne.
- 24 S. lerne dÿne kynder in der iugent  
got vorchten vnd mynnen togent.  
M. wer sÿner kue daz futter vor beslusset  
der milich er selten genuset.
- 25 S. wer zu geweltig zuhet sÿnen knecht  
der dût ym selbis gar vnrecht.  
M. zyhestû dÿnen esel zu fet in allen ziden  
er wirffet dich abe wanne dû yen wilt riden.

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M. an. witzen. Der golt wirffet in das salczfass. 21. S. Es. weder stücke. Dregen. sal man czwefeldige slege. M. das. Nit. das. bose muss. 22. S. Es ist besser heimlich schande czwar. Dan schande liden uffenbar. M. arss. Dem wirt lichte sin fisten kunt. 22\*. S. Gross vnere er begeit. Der die frunde leret vnhubscheit. Das mag woll din kopp ingelden..... 23. S. Der da hat frolich. M. Syme diener gyt er cleine. Der sin messer lecket. 24. S. Lere dynen sone in siner jogent. Got forchtyn sine dogent. M. siner kuwe das fuder slusset. Der milch er da nymmer. 25. S. Wer sinen knecht czu selpuldig czuget. Sich selber er bedruget. M. Czuhestu din esel czu fette czu allen czynen. Worffet. so du wenest ryden.

- 26 S. vernym vnd høre daz gar wirt sûre  
alle dyngze zu thunde wieder nature.  
M. daz ist war ich wene eyn nuwe bercke  
daz man darüss gude beseme wircke.
- 27 S. waz der richter sol sprechen  
daran ensal nicht rechtes ane gebrechen.  
M. by wilen yrret der oss den wagen  
daz er nicht recht enkan gegayn
- 28 S. eyn wol gemachte schwarze krôn  
ûff eynen wissen schilde zieret schön.  
M. zwischen zweyen wissen beyen zieret bass  
eyn schwarze rûwe kunte wisset dass.
- 29 S. durch kunste sol man die meyster éren  
ûff daz sich die jungen dest lieber lâssen lêren.  
M. war sich der esel welczert daz ist wâr  
da horet man forcze alle vffenbâr.
- 30 S. dorch nôt keynerley  
mit dem mechtigen dich nicht enzwey.  
M. es ist bôse eynen lebendigen beren schynden  
von dem heybet biss zu den henden.
- 31 S. mit keyner rede saltû liegen  
vnd dÿnen frunt auch nicht betriegen.  
M. wer mit ossen klaffet  
mit ossen er sich affet.
- 32 S. geselle dû solt gern mÿden  
alle die gerne fechten vnd strîden.  
M. wer sich menget vnder die klygen  
de essent die sûwe glich den brygen.

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26. S. Ich sagen fernt vnd hure. Alle ding ubent ir nature. M. das ist ware eyn nuwe birck. Das man dan uss besem wirck. 27. S. Das eynsal. Daran sal rechtes nit. M. Czurwilen foret der osse den wan. Das nit rechte. gegan. 28. S. Eynen wissen schilt czeret woll schon. Eyn woll gemachte wisse kron. M. Czwey wisse dicke czerent bass. Eyn ruwe kunt wisse das. 29. S. Dorch kunst sal man den meister. Das die jungen das da gerner leren. M. Wo. welczelt dass. Da bluwet furcze ader har. 30. S. node. Den frunden nit enczwey. M. Ess. den bern czu schinden. Heubt an bit hinden. 31. S. Mit keynen reden nit in bedrug. Din frunt noch nit in lug. M. Wer mit dem essenden cleffet. Mit essen er sich effet. 32. S. du salt miden. Alle die da gerne striden. M. clyen. Swyne mit den brygen.

- 33 S. dû ensehe nye hôher berge drij  
dâ weren auch dâle bij.  
M. die rede weiss ich selber wol  
so hôher berge so dieffer tâle  
daz versuchen duchte mich vnutze  
des scheiss ich in die tieffen putze.
- 34 S. is ist mir von herczen leyt  
daz dem galgen eyniger diep engêtt.  
M. solde man die diebe alle hân  
is wer muoschlich wie es dyr solde gân.
- 35 S. die rede duncket mich fremde  
daz mancher lebet sunder schemede.  
M. die rede ist mir wol kont  
eyn hunt lebet als eyn hunt.
- 36 S. der êren er gar vorgisset  
der daz bôse vor daz gûde misset.  
M. als der hunt wil schîssen  
stosset man yen so wil er hissen.
- 37 S. nôde hette ich der frunde  
der myr keynes gûten gunde.  
M. kalbes dreg verûchet balde  
ûff der erden vor dem walde
- 38 S. kleyn fruntschaft er dà sûchet  
wer sÿner frunde nicht enrûchet.  
M. an dem arss die maget grundig is  
alse sie sich nicht lesset ruren des synt gewiss
- 39 S. eynes koniges wort sicherlîch  
ensol nymmer mê verwandelen sich.  
M. wer mit bôsen wil eren  
der muss zÿtlîche wiederkêren.

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33. S. Du yn gesehe nye berge dry. Dan en were ye grunde by. M. woll. Berg. dall. Das versuchen. nutze. Da. ynne die phutze. 34. S. Es. leit. Dass. manch diep entgeit. M. sie alle gehenckt han. Ess ist miselich wie iss vmb dich solde stan. 35. S. Diese. frômde. Wie. ane schemde. M. Dir woll kunt. als. 36. S. er gar. Wer bose vmb gut wieder myssset. M. So. will. Drauwestu yme er will dich bisssen. 37. S. Node ich den czu frunde hede. Der fruntschaft mir nach nie gedede. M. verruchet gerne balde. Der heide. 38. S. Cleyne occasie er suchet. Siner. nit me in. M. An dem arsse grindet die mat. Wan sie sich nit roren lat. 39. S. wart. Sal nummer me gewandeln sich. M. fussen will. Czijtlich.

- 40 S. knobelauch ist in der wyrtschafft guot  
mit vnrråde he schelden thûd.  
M. wer knobelauch ysset tzu allen stunden  
der fistet voben vnd vnden.
- 42 S. wer gern beraubet die armen  
got enhôret nicht sÿn karmen.  
M. sÿner treue der wrcziget  
der einen bösen richter schriget.
- 42\* S. sant snê regen vnd wynt  
des frauwet sich blumen vnd kynt.  
M. als lange snê vnd kolunge wert  
so seichent die wibe bij dem hert.
- 43 S. armot vnd schande sol man helen  
men sal den frunden daz beuellen.  
M. den drecke enkan nyemant so wol bewynden  
die sÿwe mogent yen woole fynden.
- 44 S. wie solde der thûn eyne andern guot.  
der ym alleyn vnrât tût.  
M. wer sÿnen ars wischet mit kabe  
der wyrt ym wênig reyne darabe.
- 45 S. wer da vorchtet den riffen sêre  
der mocht wollen daz keyn snee nicht enwêr.  
M. wer vorchtet daz der helmer ende bitten  
der ensol nicht in die stopeln schÿssen.
- 46 S. sÿn wÿssheit er gar verlûset  
der ym selber daz ergeste kûset.  
M. glich borden enbrechent nyeman den rucke  
dar zu enslage danne grôss vnglucke.

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40. S. Knobelauch. wirtschaft gut. In dem rade er schaden dut. M. Knobelauch. zu stunden. Oben. 41. S. Das horen gerne verdirbet. Wo nit der synne mit in wirbet. M. Es ist bese harppen in der molen. Da lecte synen arss eyn esels folen. 42. S. Wer da keret die oren von ruffe der armen. In horet nit sin. M. Sin drehen yme nit verczijt. Wer eynen schryt. 43. S. Armut vnd suchte sal nyman helen. Man sal. die befelen. M. dreg kan nymant bewinden. In konden in woll finden. 44. S. Wie solt mir der vmmer wesen gut. Der eme selber keynes dut. M. ars woschet. quade. Wirt wenig. 45. S. Wer da fochtet den riffen. Den sal der sne snyffen. M. Fochtet das yne die helmer bitten. Der in sal nit in das stro schÿssen. 46. S. Sine wisheit er verlose. Wer eme selbe das boste. M. Gliche burde brichet nymant den ruck. Darczu in slage dan vngluck.

- 47 Salomon sprucht. alle lugenere  
sol man schuwen sêre.  
Marolff sprucht. der mit der warheit nit kan bestân  
der muss sich mit der lügen begân.
- 48 S. den frunt vnd den arczet probe  
wanne den man in der nôde prubet.  
M. wan man den keller beslusset  
mit truncken he des genusset.
- 49 S. die gerne claffent vnde stryden  
die soltû in geselschafft mÿden.  
M. eyn rynnende hûss eyn bôsse wip  
kortzent dem goden man sÿnen lip.
- 50 S. weme versmahet eyn gâbe kleyn  
dem ensol der grôssen werden keyn.  
M. eyn versmahet kint eyn hungerck hunt  
gênt trûrig slaffen manche stunt.
- 51 S. nicht enstraffe zu vil den spotlere  
he wirt dich anders hassen sêre.  
M. so du mê berubest den quat  
ye bôsern geroch daz is dan hât.
- 52 S. mancher begeret zu lebende riche  
der doch muss leben vuendelich.  
M. wer hart brôt hat vnd keyn zêne  
des zunge wendet sich dicke ales ich wên.
- 60 S. man sol mit den affen  
tôrlichen claffen.  
M. die merkatzyn duncket yr wissheit grôss  
noch dan ist sie vor den ars bloss.

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47. S. Ich sprechen, alle logenere. Sulde. M. Wer nit mit warheit. Der muss mit logen sich. 48. S. arczet man bedrubet. So die not den man bedrubet. M. Wer den. Drincken. er. 49. S. claffen vnd striden. Sal man yn geselschafft. M. dach vnd eyn czornig wypp. Die kurczen dem guden man sin lyp. 50. S. Wer. Dem sal man grosser geben keyn. M. Eyn versmehte kunt eyn hûngerger hunt. Gent drurig slaffen czu mancher stunt. 51. S. Nyt in beschilt den spottere. Anders er wort dich. M. czudribest. quadt. So er bosen gesmack hat. 52. S. begert czu leben rich. Ermiglich. M. vnd nit czende. Ich wende sin czunge ess dicke wende. From this point the order of the questions and answers becomes altered. The next in A is the 69th in Von der Hagen's copy, whence it goes regularly on to the 100th, and then returns to the 53rd. 69. S. sal. Dorlich. M. merkatze. ir wisheit. Doch ist sie vor dem arss bloss.

- 70 S. üff dich ansprichet dýnes fýandes munt  
die warheit zu keyner stunt.  
M. der liegen wil der mag wunder sagen  
des muss eyn esel seck dragen.
- 71 S. wiltú in éren alden  
waz dú globest daz soltú halden.  
M. gross vnderscheit sunder liegen  
ist zuschen swalben vnd fliegen.
- 72 S. dû salt zu gúden mássen slaffen  
darvmb mag dich nyeman straffen.  
M. mich weckent dicke die múse  
mich bíssent auch die flóhe vnd die lúse.
- 73 S. alss wir wol gedrynken vnd gessen  
daz gratzias sollen wir nyt uergessen.  
M. sie syngen vngeliche  
der sade vnd des hungers rich.
- 73\* S. gibet dyr dýn arme frunt cleyn gabe  
die nym mit vollenkommenlichen lobe.  
M. brecht myr eyner eynen drecke  
ich sluge yne ymme wieder in sínen beck.
- 74 S. mit eyme der vil scheldens kan  
saltú dich nummer scheldens nemen an.  
M. laddes dú den wolff zu húse  
sunder schâden kummet he nicht darúss.
- 76 S. nieman ist so vollenkommen  
daz he schaffe alle sýnen frommen.  
M. wer nicht zu rýdene hát  
der gêe zu fusse daz ist mýn rátt.
- 77 S. gütlich antwert brichet zorn  
des selden fruntechafft wirt verlorn.

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70. in dyns findes. Czu. M. Wer. will. wonder. Mussen. 71. S. mit  
eren. Wastu gelabest das saltu. M. Veder schwalben vnd vnder müs-  
chen. Da ist eyn gross vnderscheit czwischen. 72. S. in guder masse.  
Inmag dich nymant. M. müse. Mit kratzen vnd auch die lúse. 73. S.  
Wan wir woll gedruncken. Der graciens. nit. M. Der sade singet vngliche.  
Vnd auch der hungers riche. 74. S. Du salt dich verbinden seldom. Mit  
eyme der da kan schelden. M. Ledestu. heim czu huss. Er in kommet  
nit an schaden daruss. 75. Eyn gut barmhertzig man. Eyner selen bestes  
gewerben kan. M. Er lebet mit bosen synnen. Der sich selber nit will  
erkennen. 76. S. Nyman. follen. Das er alle czijt schaffe. M. nit czu  
riden enhat. Czu fuss das ist min radt. 77. S. Czorn. Mit schelden.



- M. wanne sich zwey böse wiber schelden  
alle yr vntäd sie danne melden.
- 78 S. eyne vngetruwen mann sîn böss siedde  
volget ym gerne myde.  
M. wem stelen begundet lieben  
der ist gern bij den dieben.
- 79 S. wer was hât dem sal man geben  
die wîle daz he mag geleben.  
M. wer wênig hâtt der hât vngluckes vil  
daz machet der tuffel mit sýme gauckelspiel.
- 80 S. wan man den wis geschyndet  
nymmê phande men dâ vindet.  
M. waz man furtze kan gelâssen  
daz versteht wênig in vistens mâssin.
- 82 S. man sprichet sicherlich  
eyn igliches sucht sýnen glich.  
M. der ûff dem heybt ist kale  
dem ist bij den plachechtigen wole.
- 83 S. mancher wênet den wolff schûwen  
dem doch begeynet der lewe in trûwen.  
M. mancher wênet sýnen ars wischen  
der doch sýnen dûmen beschisset darzuschen.
- 84 S. eyn kynt von hundert jâren  
ist böse zu lêren zwâren.  
M. zwynges dû den alden hunt in bende  
so mustû hûden dýner hende.

M. Wan sich czwey alde wypp scheldent. Alle ir vndat sie da meldent.  
78. S. Eyn vnedig man sinboser sede. yme vil. myde. M. Wem da begin-  
net stelen czu lieben. Der ist alle czyt gerne by dieben. 79. S. Dem ha-  
benden sal. daz. M. Der wenig hat den sal man plücken. Vnd den ha-  
benden czuschicken. 80. S. So man den fuss geschyndet. Nit me. findet.  
M. The answer is lost here, but given in 81.—81. S. Wer da antwort ee  
er gehore. Der glichet sich eym doren. M. Was man forcze kan gelassen.  
Die verstet eyn dauber in fistens massen. 82. S. sicherlichen. Iglicher  
suchet sinen glichen. M. Wer. heubt. kal. mit den pleckechten woll.  
83. S. Dem begeynnet. lebe. druwen. M. sin arslloch woschen. Er beschis-  
set den dûmen darzuschen. 84. S. kint. is. czu. czwaren. M. Czwin-  
gestu. bant. magstu. diner hant. 85. S. Eyn hercze mit uberessigkeit  
geschaffen. Dat den menschen dicke claffen. M. Des buches uberessig-  
keit. Den arss czu wilen farczen dreit.

- 86 S. von dem geslichte Juda bin ich geboren  
vber Israhel eyn furste yrkoren.  
M. vnder den blynden des synt gewiss  
eyn eyneygiger eyn konnig ist.
- 87 S. durch noit der gerechte man  
by wilen sundigen began.  
M. in buschen vnd in felden  
düt dicke nôt den alden essel zelden.
- 88 S. eyn iglich wip die dà hasset yrn man  
die mag wol vil sorge hân.  
M. der wolffe plieget mit flissen  
vnder die weiche heide zu schissen.
- 89 S. er enmag nicht sicher geleben  
dem eyn bôse wÿp wirt gegeben.  
M. man sol den essel blúwen  
so er den guoten weg wil schûwen.
- 90 S. es enzymmet nyt wol den affen  
wise wort zu klaffen.  
M. vor fremde mere des gewage  
ob eyn luis die secke drage.
- 91 S. wer der ruden schonet  
sÿnes selbes kynt er dar mit honet.  
M. wer dà kuset das bockelîn  
der mag der geisse frunt wol sÿn.
- 92 S. wie vil der kleynen wege synt  
sic wÿsent eyn grossen dar bie hien.  
M. wiltú dass versúchen  
vil eyger machen grösse kúchen.
- 93 S. von mynnen leidet mancher noit  
das lidet er bis in den dôt.

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86. S. geslichte. geborn. vnd *del.* erkorn. M. in den blinden lande. syst. eineugiger. konig. 87. S. Dorch not. by wilen. M. Dut not den alden eseln czelden. 88. S. Mir were mit der ere woll. Gebe mir Got gudes sonder czall. M. Man in gibt den hunden nit also vil. Als sie heischent mit des czagels spil. 89. S. Wo eyn wypp hasset eren man. der. vil woll. M. wolff pleget. flyssen. Hinter den feich hirten woll czu. 90. S. inmag nit selber. wypp. M. sol. esel. guden. will. 91. S. inczemet nit den. Vil wisser wart czu claffen. M. man das wuge. abe. hunt. druge. 92. S. ein selbes kint er honet. M. buckelin. frunt sin. 93. S. Wie vil der cleynen pheide si. eynen grossen weg daby. M. eyer machent. 94. S. mynne lidet. not. Das er lyt krank bit in sinen dot.

- M. eyn schöne wîp úff der ziechen  
hat balde genêrt den von mynnen siechen.
- 95 S. als der hymmel sich bedrubet  
den regen man dá bij prubet.
- M. alss der hunt wil schíssen gân  
so siehet man yen gekrymmet stán.
- 96 S. wo der konig hyn fert  
vor ym zieret wol eyn schöne swert.
- M. eyn grósser dreck bij den zúne styncket sêre  
eswo alden lersen sin dem her alden gar vnmêre.
- 97 S. du enhast dýner schalckeyt keyne másse  
des machtú herhangen werden bij die strasse.
- M. hynges man die diebe alle noch hûre  
die galgen wuorden daz ander járe zu túre.
- 98 S. der wise son sýnen fatter erfrauwet  
der dorechte son sýner mutter drauwet.
- M. der esel vnd die nachtegalle  
hánt gar vnglîchen schal.
- 99 S. dústú dem guoten wole  
er lobet dich sunder zale.
- M. er hat den dag verwischet  
der dem bôsen drischet.
- 100 S. ê der selige von sýme bette sy gessen  
so hát der vnselige sýn brôt gessen.
- M. ê der hunt geschíssset gedeweiss  
so hat der wolffe zu busche die geiss.
- 53 S. alss man geschrieben sijt  
so hát alle zijt yr zijt.
- M. zu summer yssset man die kersbêre  
zu wynter brúchet man die opfele sêre.

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M. lip wypp. czichen. gedodet den siechen. 95. S. Wan. hymmel druffet. reigen. daran pruffet. M. Wan. will. sieht. ene gekromppen. 96. S. eyn. hin. ene czeret woll. schones swert. M. eyn grosser dreg czeret woll den czün. Als czwo lederhasen eym yrtzgebuern. 97. S. Du wil tdin vnkuscheit beherden. Des mustu noch erhangen werden. M. hinge. huer. Die galgen worden duer. 98. S. sin vatter. darecht siner muder. M. sie singen vnglich. Der drurig vnd der freudenrich. 99. S. guden woll. lonet dirs sonder czal. M. wer dem bosen drischet. Den hat der dag verwoschet. 100. S. sie von dem bette gesessen. hat der vnselig sin. M. eynen scheiss. der wolff in dem buche. 53. S. also beschriebten steet. Alle czijt hat yr czijt. M. Czu somer yssset man die kirsene gerne. Dan schisset man die kerne.

- 54 S. vorwar ich dir kunde  
lugene brynget grôss sunde.  
M. wer sich sins kauffes sol begân  
der muss bi wilén sÿn warsagen lân.
- 55 S. wann der trege knecht keldene mercket  
bij dem pluge er wênig wercket.  
M. wer da wil der kost schônén  
der endarff den snÿdern nicht lónen.
- 56 S. nyeman sal des keyn schâden hân  
wie er sich mit êren kan begân.  
M. der voss der sich sines mussens schemen wil  
der muss von hunger dicke liden vil.
- 58 S. Marolff also du kummes zu habe  
so tû also daz man dich labe.  
M. nyeman also recht tûd  
daz es die lude alle duncke guot.
- 59 S. ich vorchte ich verliese daran  
waz ich dich gûttes gelêren kan.  
M. vorchtestû daz dû dich beschissee doch  
so strîche eyn wische in dÿn arssloch.
- 60 S. senffte wort brichent zorn  
daz fruntschafft seldom wyrt verlorn.  
M. zorn machet grâ hâre  
der arss fartzet daz ist wâre.
- 61 S. die amass samet in dem summer gâre  
daz sie des wynters wol gefâre.  
M. wer mussig get in der êrn  
den biss nit die lûse des wynters gerne

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54. S. In warheit ich. liegen brenget grosse. M. claffens sal began. bi wilén *del. sin.* 55. S. Wan der drege die felde fuchtit. Wenig er mit dem plûge wircket. M. da will er die koste schonen. Dass er den snedern nit dorffe lonen. 56. S. Nyeman. des schaden. was er mit. mag. M. fusse. sich müssens schamet. Von hunger er yrgramet. 57. S. Wer sich nit. woll kan generen. Der sal keyner duerde begeren. M. Eynen man hungerte manche stunt. Der ginge vnd kauffte eynen hunt. 58. S. Morolf als. kommest czu. du also als man. M. nyemant. dut. iss alle lude. gut. 59. S. fochte. Das ich dich nit gezuchten kan. M. fochtestu dich beschissen doch. so steck. wosche. loch. 60. S. brechent czorn. die. wirt. M. czorn. grae. das ist. 61. S. emesse. in *del. gare.* das. den winter woll gefar. M. mussig get czu eren. bissent die. czu winter geren.

- 62 S. wann der diep gêt stelen  
daz kan sÿn wîp wol helen.  
M. wie sich der wolff kan begân  
daz duncket die wolffyn wol getân.
- 63 S. wiltû dinen lip in selickeit enden  
alle dyngte soltû zu den besten wenden.  
M. sehe ich eyn den ars blecken  
wie kan ich yme den gedecken.
- 64 S. dÿme wibe in werden nicht versage  
alss sie dyr yre nôt heymeliche clage.  
M. frauwen nôt zu stopfen schiere  
enkunden nicht gethûn drij oder vier.
- 65 S. den slaffenden hunt ensol nyeman wecken  
alle vnfalt sol man decken.  
M. du sagest al war ich tède auch also  
ich hube uff daz bette vnd scheisse in daz strô.
- 66 S. volgestû der lêre mÿn  
dû solte des besten hoffen sÿn.  
M. hude vbel monn wole  
daz ist alles verlorne zale.
- 67 S. an gûden wyllen\* vindet man truwe  
zu allen zÿden nuwe.  
M. eyn lûss vil truwe hât  
sie enlisset den man nicht wie is ym gât.  
sie lesset sich mit ym hencken  
oder in eym sacke erdrencken.
- 68 S. eyme frumen man mag nicht glîchen  
keyn bôse wîp in allen rîchen.  
M. falken fledermûsse vnd fliegen  
synt vnglich man wolle dan liegen.

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62. S. Wan. diepp. das. sin wypp woll gehellen. M. was der wolff mag. das. wolffin. woll gedan. 63. S. wiltu seliglichen enden. so saltu alle ding czum bestem. M. sehe. eyn. sal ich das bedecken. 64. S. wart nicht versaget. so sie die heymliche not claget. M. ir not gestuppen. inkonden nit myner fiere. 65. S. sal nymant. all vndat sal. bedecken. M. al del. det. hub vff das. scheiss. das. 66. S. Folge du. min. du salt. sin. M. wer ubel dut der hoffet woll. das duncket mich eyn verlorn czall. 67. S. wiben findet. druwe. czu. geczijden. M. me druwe. inlet. nit. iss yme. sie lesset sich mit. ach wie solde eyn wypp wencken. 68. S. der man mag an synnen rasen. wer gude wibe glichet bosen. M. fledermüss. wolde.

\* Leg. wiben. †

- S. ich enkan dyr nicht gesagen  
 daz du von bôssheit wollest lân.  
 des enwil ich nymmê mit dyr claffen  
 ich befelle dich den toren vnd den affen.
- M. des enmag nicht gesÿn alss ferre ich lebe  
 dû salt dich vorwunnen geben  
 vnd bezale mich zu disser stunt  
 daz myr entheissen hât dîn munt.

We have here then one hundred propositions with their answers, exclusive of the eight lines of conclusion. The sayings of Marcolf are like those of Salomon, twofold in character. Salomon either gives Biblical proverbs found in his own books, or moral commonplaces derived from the observation of life. Marcolf either confirms the saying, at the same time ridiculing it, by adducing an absurd and very often, dirty application of it, or he contradicts it by showing a case in which it fails. The greater proportion of his answers are *popular proverbs*. Now of these, comparatively speaking, a very small number are found in the Latin version of Gartner; and as there is nothing in the German proverbs which are omitted, or in the Latin proverbs which are added by him, to distinguish them from the rest, and account for his alteration of the story, I conclude that he drew from a source different from that of the poem, and above all, reject the notion that the Latin printed by Gartner was the original from which the author of the poem translated. I proceed to give the corresponding portion of the Latin version printed by Gartner in 1585.

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*Conclusion.* S. kan dir das nit gesan. du dyn vnhubscheit. inwill. nit. dir. befel dich den affen. M. in mag nit sin muss ich leben. uberwonden. beczone mir czu dieser. was mir gelobet. dyn.

## B.\*

1. *Salomon* dixit audivi te esse verbosum et callidum quamvis sis rusticus et turpis Quamobrem inter nos habeamus altricationem Ego vero te interrogabo tu vero subsequens responde mihi. *Marcolphus* respondit qui male cantat primo incipiat. 2. *Sal.* si per omnia poteris respondere sermonibus meis te ditabo magnis opibus et nominatissimus eris in regno meo. *Mar.* promittit medicus sanitatam cum non habet potestatem. 3. *Sal.* bene iudicavi inter duas meretrices quæ in vna domo opprresserant infantem. *Mar.* vbi sunt auce ibi sunt cause Ubi mulieres ibi parabole. 4. *Sal.* dominus dedit sapientiam in ore meo cum nullus sit mihi similis in cunctis finibus terre. *Mar.* qui malos vicinos habet seipsum laudat. 5. *Sal.* fugit impius nemine subsequente. *Mar.* quando fugit capriolus albescit eius culus. 6. *Sal.* bona mulier et pulchra ornamentum est viro suo. *Mar.* olla plena cum lacte bene debet a catto custodiri. 7. *Sal.* mulier sapiens edificat sibi domum Insipiens constructam destruit manibus. *Mar.* olla bene cocta melius durat et qui mundam distemperet mundam bibit. 8. *Sal.* mulier timens deum ipsa laudabitur. *Mar.* cattus cum bona pelle ipse excoreabitur. 9. *Sal.* mulier pudica est multum amanda. *Mar.* lacticia sunt pauperi retinenda. 10. *Sal.* mulierem fortem quis invenit. *Mar.* cattum fidelem super lac quis inuenit. *Sal.* nullus. *Mar.* et mulierem raro. 11. *Sal.* mulier formosa et honesta retinenda est super omnia desiderabilia bona. *Mar.* mulier pinguis et grossa est largior in dando visa†. 12. *Sal.* bene pepulum album in capite mulieris. *Mar.* scriptum est enim non sunt talia manice quales pellitia sub albo pepulo sepe latet tinea. 13. *Sal.* qui seminat iniquitatem metet mala. *Mar.* qui seminat paleas metet miserias. 14. *Sal.* doctrina et sapientia debet in ore sanctorum consistere. *Mar.* asellus semper debet esse vbi se pascit ibi crescit Ubi caccat ibi fimat Ubi mingit ibi rigat Ubi se voluat frangit glebas. 15. *Sal.* laudit te alienus. *Mar.* se meipsum vitupavero nulli vnquam placebo. 16. *Sal.* multum mel ne comedas. *Mar.* qui apes castrat digitum suum lingit. 17. *Sal.* in maliuolam animam non intrabit spiritus sapientie. *Mar.* in lignum durum dum mittis cuneum cave ne incidat in oculum. 18. *Sal.* durum est tibi

\* From the copy in the University Library of Göttingen compared with that in the British Museum.

† *Leg. visia.*

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contra stimulum recalitrare. *Mar.* bos recalitrosus pungi debet vicibus binis. 19. *Sal.* erudi filium tuum et ab infantia doce eum bene facere. *Mar.* qui suam nutrit vaccam de lacte sepe manducat. 20. *Sal.* omne genus ad suam naturam reuertitur. *Mar.* mappa digesta reuertitur ad stuppam. 21. *Sal.* quicquid nouerit loquitur iudex iustitie et veritatis. *Mar.* episcopus tacens efficitur hostiarius. 22. *Sal.* honor exhibendus est magistro et virga timenda. *Mar.* qui suo iudici solet vngere buccam solet macerare suam asellam. 23. *Sal.* contra hominem fortem et potentem aquam currentem noli contendere. *Mar.* vultur scoriat duram volucrum plumatque pellem. 24. *Sal.* emendemus in melius quod ignoranter peccauimus. *Mar.* quando culum tergis nihil aliud agis. 25. *Sal.* blandis persuasionibus noli decipere quenquam. *Mar.* per ingenium manducat qui manducantem salutatur. 26. *Sal.* cum homine litigioso non habeas societatem. *Mar.* merito hunc manducant sues qui se miscet inter furfures. 27. *Sal.* multi sunt qui verecundiam habere nesciunt. *Mar.* vivunt cum hominibus qui similes sunt canibus. 28. *Sal.* multi sunt qui beneficientibus reddunt mala pro bonis. *Mar.* qui alieno cani panem suum dederit mercedem non habebit. 29. *Sal.* non est amicus qui non durat in amicitia. *Mar.* merda de vitulo non diu fumatur. 30. *Sal.* occasiones multas quærit qui ab amico recedere vult. *Mar.* mulier que non vult consentire dicit se scabiosum culum habere. 31. *Sal.* sermo regis debet esse immutabilis. *Mar.* cito tedium habet qui cum lupo arat. 32. *Sal.* radices raphani bone sunt in conuiuio fetent in consilio. *Mar.* qui raphanum manducat ex vtraque parte tussit. 33. *Sal.* perit auditus vbi non vigilat sensus. *Mar.* perdit suam sagittam qui tripum sagittat. 34. *Sal.* qui auertit aurem suam a clamore pauperum ipse clamabit et dominus deus non exaudiet vocem suam. *Mar.* perdit lachrimas suas qui coram iudice plorat. 35. *Sal.* surge Aquilo et veni auster perfla ortum meum et fluent aromata illius. *Mar.* quando pluit aquilo ruit alta domus et qui habet hirniam non est bene sanus. 36. *Sal.* mortem et paupertatem celare noli. *Mar.* qui celat hirniam crescunt ibi maiori. 37. *Sal.* cum sederis ad mensam diuitis diligenter inspicere que opponantur tibi. *Mar.* vniuersa ministratio per ventrem dirigitur et in ventrem vadit. 38. *Sal.* quando ad mensam sederis caue ne prius comedas. *Mar.* qui in altiori sella sederit ipse primum locum tenet. 39. *Sal.* si fortis superfecerit imbecillum vniuersam substantiam aufert eius domus. *Mar.* bene videt cattus cui barbam



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lingit voluntariam. 40. *Sal.* quod timet impius veniet super eum. *Mar.* qui male facit et bene sperat totum se fallit. 41. *Sal.* propter frigus piger arare noluit mendicabit autem estate et nil dabitur ei. *Mar.* culum nudum nulla spoliabit. 42. *Sal.* studium reddit magistrum benevolum. *Mar.* asuete manus currunt ad caldarium. 43. *Sal.* proiciendi sunt a consortio bonorum litigiosi et garruli. *Mar.* domina irata fumus ad ratta patella perforata damnum sunt in casa. 44. *Sal.* pro amore dei omnis dilectio est adhibenda. *Mar.* si amas illum qui te non amat perdes amorem tuum. 45. *Sal.* ne dicas amico tuo vade cras dabo tibi cum statim possis sibi dare. *Mar.* ad tempus faciam dicit qui non habet aptum utensile. 46. *Sal.* crapulatus a vino non seruat tempus in eloquio. *Mar.* culus confractus non habet dominum. 47. *Sal.* multi concupiscunt diuicias habere cum sint in paupertate detenti. *Mar.* prande quod habes et vide quid remaneat. 48. *Sal.* Multi sunt qui famem sustinent et tamen sustinent uxores. *Mar.* miser homo panem non habebat et tamen canem sibi comparabat. 49. *Sal.* stulto respondit secundum suam stultitiam ne videtur sapiens. *Mar.* petra quid audiuit cui respondit quercus. 50. *Sal.* ira non habet misericordiam et ideo qui per iram loquitur comperat malum seu perpetrat. *Mar.* ne dicas amico tuo malum iratus ne postea penitearis placatus. 51. *Sal.* os inimica non loquitur veritatem nec verum labia eius personabunt. *Mar.* qui te non amat ipse te diffamat. 52. *Sal.* quod satis est dormi. *Mar.* cui licet et non dormit pigritia nocet illi. 53. *Sal.* sacietate repleti sumus referamus deo gratias. *Mar.* iubilat merulus respondit graculus non equaliter cantant saturatus et ieiunus. 54. *Sal.* manducemus et bibamus omnes enim moriemur. *Mar.* sic moritur famelicus sicut et refectus. 55. *Sal.* quando homo harpat non potest paralogisare. *Mar.* quando canis caccat non potest latrare. 56. *Sal.* saciata est iniquitas ventris nunc eamus dormitum. *Mar.* tornat retornat male dormit qui non manducat. 57. *Sal.* exiguum munus cum dat tibi pauper amicus noli despiciere. *Mar.* quod habet castratus dat vicine sue. 58. *Sal.* ne gradieris cum homine malo vel litigioso ne forte sentiens malum propter eum vel periculum. *Mar.* apis mortua non caccat mel. 59. *Sal.* si cum homine callido vel maliuolo amicitiam firmaueris magis tibi aduersabitur quam auxilium prestat. *Mar.* quod lupus facit lupe placet. 60. *Sal.* qui ante respondit quam audiat stultum se demonstrat. *Mar.* quando te aliquis pungit subtrahe pedem tuum. 61. *Sal.* omne animal simile sibi elegit. *Mar.*

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vbi fuerit caballus scabiosus parem sibi querit et vtrique se scabiunt. 62. *Sal.* bene facit anime sue vbi est homo misericors. *Mar.* magnum donum despicit qui seipsum non cognoscit. 63. *Sal.* qui fugit lupo obuiat leoni. *Mar.* de malo in malum de coco ad pistorem. 64. *Sal.* caue ne quis faciat tibi malum si autem fecerit noli et facere. *Mar.* aque non currenti et homini tacenti credere noli. 65. *Sal.* non omnes omnia possunt. *Mar.* scriptum est in casibus qui non habet equum vadat pedibus. 66. *Sal.* puer centum annorum maledictus erit. *Mar.* tarde est veterem canem mittere in ligamen. 67. *Sal.* multum habenti dabitur et habundabit. *Mar.* ve homini qui non habet panes et habet parentes. 68. *Sal.* ve viro duplici corde et duabus viis incedenti. *Mar.* qui duas vias vult ire aut culum aut bracam debet rumpere. 69. *Sal.* ex habundantia cordis os loquitur. *Mar.* ex saturitate ventris triumphat culus. 70. *Sal.* duo boues equaliter trahunt ad vnum iugum. *Mar.* due vene equaliter vadunt ad vnum culum. 71. *Sal.* mulier pulcra est a viro suo amanda. *Mar.* in collo est alba vt columba in culo nigra et hirsuta vt talpa. 72. *Sal.* in tribu iuda nimia est cogitatio mea et deus patris mei principem me constituit populi sui. *Mar.* cognosco map-pam quia de stuppa facta est. 73. *Sal.* necessitas facit hominem iustum peccare. *Mar.* lupus apprehensus et in custodia positus aut caccat aut mordet. 74. *Sal.* sufficeret mihi temperaneus honor si tantum modo deus vniuersum orbem mee dictioni subiugasset. *Mar.* non tantum datur catulo quantum blanditur sua cauda. 75. *Sal.* qui tardus venit ad mensam suspensus est a cibo. *Mar.* gluto non currit per totum. 76. *Sal.* cum molesta tibi vxor tua ne timeas. *Mar.* molli bergario lupus non caccat lanam. 77. *Sal.* non decet stulto verba composita. *Mar.* non decet canem sellam portare. 78. *Sal.* tunde latera filii tui dum tenera sint. *Mar.* qui osculatur agnum amat et ariem. 79. *Sal.* omnes vie ad vnam viam tendunt. *Mar.* ad culum vnum omnes tendunt vene. 80. *Sal.* a bono homine bona fit mulier. *Mar.* a bono conuiuio bona fit merda que calcatur pedibus sic et bestiales mulieres debent calcari. 81. *Sal.* bene decet mulier pulcra iuxta virum suum. *Mar.* bene decet olla plena vino iuxta sicientem. 82. *Sal.* bene decet gladius honestus iuxta latus meum. *Mar.* bene decet strues iuxta sepem meum. 83. *Sal.* quanto magnus es tanto humilis sis in omnibus. *Mar.* bene equitat qui cum paribus equitat. 84. *Sal.* filius sapiens letificat patrem suum insipiens vero mesticia est matris sue. *Mar.* non equaliter cantant

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tristis et letus. 85. *Sal.* qui parce seminat parce et metet. *Mar.* quanto plus gelat tanto plus stringit. 86. *Sal.* omnia fac cum consilio et post factum non penitebis. *Mar.* satis est infirmus qui infirmum trahit. 87. *Sal.* omnia tempora tempus habent. *Mar.* diem hodie diem cras dicit bos qui leporem sequitur. *Sal.* iam fessus loquendo requiescamus ergo. *Mar.* non obmittam loquelam meam. *Sal.* non possum amplius. *Mar.* si non potes humiliter confitere te victum et da quod promisisti.

Of the hundred divisions in A, and the eighty-seven in B, there are but thirty-two common to both, that is, but thirty-two in which the same answers are given by Marcolf; for as many of Salomon's propositions are found either in the Old or New Testament, there is rather more coincidence between them in the Dialogues. The common element stands thus:—

## [C.]

<sup>1</sup> A. 1; B. 1.—<sup>2</sup> A. 1.; B. 2.—<sup>3</sup> A. 2; B. 3.—<sup>4</sup> A. 3; B. 4.—<sup>5</sup> A. 5; B. 6.—<sup>6</sup> A. 9; B. 8.—<sup>7</sup> A. 10; B. 10.—<sup>8</sup> A. 11; B. 11.—<sup>9</sup> A. 12; B. 13.—<sup>10</sup> A. 15; B. 5.—<sup>11</sup> A. 16; B. 15.—<sup>12</sup> A. 19; B. 16.—<sup>13</sup> A. 32; B. 26.—<sup>14</sup> A. 37; B. 29.—<sup>15</sup> A. 38; B. 30.—<sup>16</sup> A. 39; B. 31.—<sup>17</sup> A. 40; B. 32.—<sup>18</sup> A. 42; B. 34.—<sup>19</sup> A. 49; B. 43.—<sup>20</sup> A. 57; B. 48.—<sup>21</sup> A. 62; B. 59.—<sup>22</sup> A. 66; B. 40.—<sup>23</sup> A. 73; B. 53.—<sup>24</sup> A. 76; B. 65.—<sup>25</sup> A. 84; B. 66.—<sup>26</sup> A. 85; B. 69.—<sup>27</sup> A. 88; B. 74.—<sup>28</sup> A. 89; B. 76.—<sup>29</sup> A. 91; B. 77.—<sup>30</sup> A. 92; B. 78.—<sup>31</sup> A. 96; B. 82.—<sup>32</sup> A. 98; B. 84.

There are then sixty-eight of Marcolf's answers in the German which are not found in the Latin, and that out of one hundred; while out of eighty-seven in the Latin, there are fifty-five not found in the German.

I cannot therefore agree with Von der Hagen that the German poem, full two-thirds of which is not found in the Latin version, was taken from this. There are other reasons which make it quite certain that it was not; in the first place, its comparative length, it being so much more full and com-

plete than the Latin, which, from the habits of translators before the fifteenth century, it would assuredly not have been, had its source been the same Latin ; but most of all the fact, that among the answers found only in the German, are a large proportion of those very passages which the poet expressly states that he took from his Latin original, and for the coarse appearance of which in German he commences by begging pardon.

Whatever be the case, I cannot but attribute the whole composition to an original strictly Teutonic, and this whether it chanced to be written down in German or in Latin. Assuredly, whatever may be thought of the general outline of the story, it borrowed none of its details from the East : its whole character bears the stamp of the free, rough and humorous Westerns ; but beyond this, the proverbial answers made by Marcolf are essentially Teutonic, and so essentially Teutonic, that they frequently appear to great disadvantage in the Latin garb which has been huddled upon them. A sufficient number of them may be quoted from works of the highest antiquity, to show from what far-off springs the popular wisdom, represented by Marcolf, flowed ; and the appearance of others as living proverbs among the Teutonic peoples even till a late period, serves to prove how deeply rooted they were in our feeling, and how consonant to our habits of thought. The list of the proverbs, which I now proceed to note as corresponding with those of the second Morolf, might easily have been made much longer, but it was unnecessary to heap up examples. I have given more than were absolutely required, because the literature of proverbs has a value of its own.

## [A.]\*

13. Wherein the simple fellow was like to that noddie, who when the steed was stolne, shut the stable doore.

A World of Wonders, 91.

Nachriuvv ist selten guot,  
mich dunkt der hab ein tumben muot  
der, nach der rossen diepatal,  
allerest will besliessen den stal.

Fabeln aus der Zeit der Min. Säng. Zürich, 1757.

14. *Smelling*. "Mine is Smelling, I am my Lady's huntsman, and keep some lesser beagles for her chamber use, to excuse the freeness of her necessity's eruptions." On this there is the following note: So in the old Black letter Booke of Huntynge, &c. "Smal ladi popies that bare awai the fleas and *divers smal fautes*." In allusion to the proverbial sayings upon this subject, lap-dogs are constantly in the Old Plays called *My Lady's foisting-hounds*.

Microcosmus, Act 3. Dodsley's O. P. ix. p. 107.

21. I holde a mousis wit not worth a leke that hath but one hole for to stertin to.

Chaucer, Wife of Bath, l. 572.

Mus miser est antro qui tantum clauditur vno.

Eine arme Mauss ist die nicht mehr als ein loch weiss.

Es müst ein arme mauss seyn die nicht mehr als ein loch wüste.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 16, b. 24.

Meffe yr llygoden dyn twll.

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 21.

Dolente la souris qui ne seit c' un pertuis.

Collection of French Proverbs, thirteenth century, MS.

Al raton que no tiene mas que un agujero, pronto le cogen.

Collins' Dictionary of Spanish Proverbs, p. 36.—See also MS.

Harl. 3362. fol. 40; Grüter, Florilegium Ethico-politicum, p. 32; G. Herbert, Jacula Prudentum, p. 67; MSS. Proverbs, C. C. C., No. 450; MSS. Harl. 1800. fol. 37, b.

23. What should he yeve that licketh his knife ?

Chaucer, Rom. Rose, l. 6502.

Quando el Abad lame el cuchillo, mal para el monacillo.

Collins, Span. Prov. p. 280.

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\* This letter refers to such proverbs as are found solely in the German poem; B. to those found solely in the Latin prose version; C. to those which are common to both.

Peu peut bailler à son escuyer, qui son couteau lesche.  
Grüter, p. 234, Prov. Gall.

26. Der niuwe beseme keret wol.

Freidank, thirteenth century, Grimm's ed. p. 50.

New broome sweepeth cleane, which is thus, vnderstand ;  
New brome sweepeth cleane, in the cleane sweepers hand.  
Heywood, Three hundred Epigrams, Epig. 67.

Some thereto said, the greene new brome sweepeth cleene.  
Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. i.

Scobat scoba bene noua singula cunctaque plene.  
Neuwe besem kehren wol.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 79, b.—See also Ray, p. 280, Scottish Proverbs ; Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 61 ; Prov. Belg. p. 117 ; Howell, Engl. Prov., p. 3.

29. According to the common proverbe, Where the horse lieth down,  
there some hairs will be found.

Fuller's Worthies, p. 193, and Ray, p. 121.

Quhair the deer is slain, some bloud will lie.  
Ray, p. 302.

Lle'r ymgreynior March, y gedu beth oi flew.  
Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 20.

33. Si mons sublimis, profundior est tibi vallis.  
Je höher berg, je tieffer thal.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. ii. 50.—See also Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 39 ; Prov. Belg. p. 108 ; Prov. Ital. p. 148 ; Prov. Gall. p. 193 ; p. 228.

35. Swie man vert den hunden mite.  
so hänt doch iemer hundes site.

Freidank, p. 138.

Laez chen, peignez chen,  
toute vois nest chien qe chen.

MSS. Proverbs, C. C. C. No. 450.

Ablue, pecte canem, canis est quia permanet idem.  
MS. Proverbs, MSS. Trin. O. 2, 45.

A cur will be a cur, a clown will be a clown.  
Burton, Anat. Mel. Pt. 2. Sec. 3. Mem. 3.

41. Mich dunket niht daz ieman süle  
ze lange harpfen in der müle.

Freidank, p. 126, with which compare Walther von der Vogelweide, p. 65 ; vid. Grimm. Freid. cxiii., cxxiv. Frib. Trist. 16, c. Grimm. Freid. xcvi., xcvi.

- Swaz ich ir gesinge, deist geherpfet in der mül.  
Nithart, xxiv. 2. (Benecke, Beyträge, p. 366.)
- In der boke molen is quad harpen,  
wente dar wart sere over geboldert.  
Reineke's Koker. 4<sup>o</sup>. 1711, p. 336.
45. He that feareth everie grasse, must not pisse in a meadow.  
Chi ha paura di ogni urtica, non pisci in herba.  
Adagia in Latin and English, &c., 1622.
- Let not him that fears feathers come among wild fowl.  
G. Herbert, Jacul. Prud. p. 4.
46. Gleiche bürd bricht niemandt den rücken.  
Grüter, p. 44.
51. The more we stur a turd, the worse it will stinke.  
Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. 6.
- Qi plus enmeut la merde e ele plus pust.  
MS. Proverbs, C. C. C. No. 450.
- Llettaf fydd y byswelyn o' i sathru.  
Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 20.—See also Grüter, Prov. Gall., p. 234 ;  
p. 108, Prov. Belg.; Ray, p. 211.
56. Nieman alsô rehte tuot,  
daz ez alle liute dunke guot.  
Freidank, p. 106.
- multum deliro, si cuique placere requiro.  
allen menschen gefallen ist nicht möglich.  
Gartner, Dict. Prov. 9, b.
70. Os hostis raro loquitur bona non sibi charo.  
Feindes mundt redt selten auss gutem grundt.  
Gartner, Dict. Prov. 54, b.
74. Æde lupum quicumque foveat, nutrire putatur  
Prædonem proprio, perniciemque lari.  
Saxo Grammaticus, Bk. 5 (p. 74, ed. Steph.)—therefore an old  
Norse proverb.
77. When theeves fall out, true men come to their good.  
Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2, c. 8.
- Schülte ein diep den andern diep,  
daz wære ir nächgebüren liep.  
Freidank, p. 47.
- Fures in lite pandunt abscondita vitæ.  
Mone, Quellen und Forschungen, p. 192.

als de deve kyvet, so kumpt dat verholen wt.

MS. Maestricht, fifteenth century.

Als hoeren en boeven kyven, zo komt schennys uyt.

Grüter, p. 92. (Belgica.)

Pelean los ladrones, y descubrense los hurtos.

Riñen las comadres, y dicense las verdades.

Collins, Span. Prov. pp. 257, 332.—See also Howell, Eng. Prov.  
p. 10; Brit. Prov. p. 30.

79. How Scogin greased a fat sow on the arse. I doe as Kings and Lords, and every man else doth; for he that hath enough, shall have more, and he that hath nothing shall go without, and this sow needeth no basting nor greasing, for she is fat enough, yet shall shee have more then enough.

First and best part of Scoggin's Jests, 1626, p. 47.

He that hath plenty of goodes shall have more :

he that hath but a little, he shall have lesse :

he that hath right nought, right nought shall possesse.

Heywood. Dial. Pt. 1. c. ii. and Howell. Eng. Prov. p. 8.

86. Unter blinden ist der einäugig könig.

Grüter. p. 70. Prov. Alem.

En tierra de ciegos, el tuerto es rey.

Collins, Span. Prov. p. 148.

In terra di ciechi, beato chi hann occhio.

Grüter, p. 157. Prov. Ital.

Au royaume des aveugles, le borgne est roy.

Grüter, p. 186. Prov. Gall.

Un-llygeidiog fydd Brenin yngwlad y deillaíd. *Monoculus*  
*may be king in Cæcus country.*

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 83.

93. Wer viel aier hat, machet viel dutten.

Grüter, p. 83.

100. Mentre che il can caca, il lupo fugge.

Grüter, p. 162. Prov. Ital.

Tandis que le chien chie, le loup s'en va.

Grüter, p. 253. Prov. Gall.



## [B.]

21. An ander leut kinden, vnd an frembden hunden, hat man das brot verlohren.  
Grüter, p. 5.  
It is a thanklesse thing to feede another man's dogge.  
Adagia, &c.
39. Wel wot hure cat whas berd he lickat.  
*Murilegus bene scit cui barbam lambere suescit.*  
MS. Collection of proverbs. Trin. Coll.  
Chat conoit bien qi barbe il lesche.  
MS. Proverbs. C. C. C. No. 450.
41. It's very hard to shave an egg.  
Ray, p. 101.—See also p. 179, p. 296.  
Who goes to bed supperless, all night tumbles and tosses.
56. Chi va à letto senza cena  
tutta notte si dimena.  
Ray, p. 29.
58. A dead bee maketh no honey.  
G. Herbert, Jacula Prudentum, p. 65.  
When bees are old they yield no honey.  
Ray, p. 71.  
Ny 'tr mangi náss, *nemo fructum capit ex mortuo.*  
Hava mál. st. 71. Edd. Sæm. iii. p. 100.  
Er heddwch nac er rhyfel gwenynen farw ni chasgl fêl.  
Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 3.
60. Pan bwyser arnad, tynn dy draed attad. When one treads upon thee, draw thy foot to thee.  
Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 30.
68. Wer zwen weg wil gân  
der muos zwai langi bain hân.  
Diutiska, vol. i. p. 325. Collection of Proverbs (14th century).  
Swer zwene wege welle gân,  
der muos lange schenkel hân.  
Freid. p. 129.
72. Wie das garn, also das tuch.  
Grüter, p. 84.

87. *Eu son Arnautz qu'amas l'aura,  
e catz la lebr' ab lo bueu,  
e nadi contra suberna.*

*Arnaut, Daniel. (Parnasse Occitanien. 257.)*

*Ein ochs ist ein gross thir, noch kan er kein hasen erlauffen.  
Grüter, p. 27.*

*Set a cow to catch a hare!*

*A cow may catch a hare.*

*Ray, p. 277. but Howell reversea the proverb. Eng. Prov. p. 18.*

[C.]

3. *Like so of women in feeld and town,  
assembled where that many be,  
a man may hear them by the sown  
farther then them ye may see ;  
wherfore men say most commonly,  
wher many geese be, be many toords,  
where be women, are many woords.*

*Schole house of Women, l. 476.—See also Howell, Engl. Prov.  
p. 11.*

4. *He hath ill neighbours that 's fain to praise himself.*

*Ray, p. 139.*

*Who commendeth himself, wanteth good neighbours.*

*Howell, Engl. Prov. p. 16.*

*Sese uicinos iactans habet undique prauos.*

*MS. Harl. 3831.*

*Beatr. There's not one wise man among twenty that will praise  
himself.*

*Bened. An old, an old instance, Beatrice, that lived in the time  
of good neighbours !*

*Shakespeare, Much Ado.*

11. *Der sich selbst schend, lobt niemant.*

*11. Grüter, p. 17. Prov. Alem.*

12. *Chi maneggia mele, si lecca le dita.*

*Grüter, p. 136. Prov. Ital.*

13. *Wer sich under die skligen mischet, den essent die swîn.*

*Diutiaka, I. 325.—See also Grüter, p. 83. Prov. Alem.*

*De syck menget manket den scy*

*den fretet gerne de swyne.*

*Reineke's Koker, p. 376.*

15. Swâ vriunt von vriunde scheiden wil,  
der suochet ûf in schulde vil.  
Freidank, p. 97.
19. Thou saist that dropping housis, and eke smoke,  
and chiding wivis makin men to fle  
out of their house.  
Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, *Wife of Bath*, l. 278.
- Sir, these wordes ben understonde of women that ben janglers  
and wicked, of whiche women men sain, that thre thinges  
driven a manne out of his hous, that is to saie, smoke, drop-  
ping of rain, and wicked wives.  
Tale of Melibæus, Urry, p. 119, b.—See also Parson's Tale,  
p. 202, Pier's Plowman's Vision, Robt. Crowley, 1550, fol. 96;  
Collins, *Span. Prov.* p. 179; Grüter, p. 153, *Prov. Ital.*; p. 157,  
b. *Prov. Ital.*; p. 206, *Prov. Gall.*; Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* p. 34, b.
20. Who hath no more bread than need, must not keep a dog.  
G. Herbert, *Jac. Prud.* p. 8.
- A quien no le sobra pan, no crie can.  
Collins' *Spanish Proverbs*.
21. Lo que la loba haze al lobo plaze.  
Grüter, p. 312, *Prov. Hisp.*
22. Him dare not wenen well that evil doth,  
a guilor shall himself begyled be.  
Chaucer, *Reeve's T. l.* 1212.
- Who thinkith ill, no gode maie him befall.  
Belle Dame sans mercy. l. 399.
- He that evil does never good weines.  
Ray, p. 288.
24. Qi ne ad cheual ayle au pee.  
MS. *Proverbs*, C. C. C. No. 450.
25. Swer alten hunt an lannen leit  
der vliuset michel arebeit.  
Freidank, p. 109.
- But it is hard to make an old dog stoup lo.  
Heywood, *Dial. Pt. II. c. 7.*—See also Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* 24.  
b. 101. b.; Grüter, p. 4, *Prov. Alem.*; MS. *Proverbs*, C. C. C.  
No. 450; MS. *Harl.* 1800.
28. A mol pasteur lou lui chie laine.  
MS. *Proverbs*, C. C. C. No. 450.
- Udir a shepherde softe, and negligent  
the wolf hath many a shepe and lambe to rent.  
Chaucer, *Doc. Ph.* 1615.

29. . . . . as mete as a sow  
to beare a saddle.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. II. c. 1.—See also Ray, p. 220, 297; Howell, Eng. Prov. pp. 3, 15; Brit. Prov. p. 22.

30. Osculor hunc ore natum nutricis amore.  
MS. Prov. Trin. Coll.

Many kiase the child for the nurses sake.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. 7.—See also Grüter, p. 57; Ray, p. 206, Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 9; Brit. Prov. p. 29.

Now, a careful study of these proverbs cannot fail to satisfy us that they are originally Teutonic, both in spirit and in form: even when they appear in a Latin garb, it is evident that they are translations from something already existing among ourselves. From this I am justified in concluding that the Latin original of the second Morolf and of Hayden's version, was itself founded on a German version; this may have been also translated and retranslated; gathering its wealth of proverbs from the national treasury as it went on. We may be well assured that in the serious Salomon and Marcolf, whether the *Contradictio* or not, these proverbs were not found; but they were precisely the stuff to be taken the moment a parody was intended; for proverbs are the representatives, and generally speaking the laughing representatives, of all the common sense and experience, all the hived and hoarded prudence of a people, as the embodiments of which Marcolf and Sancho stand side by side.

Having dealt thus largely with the sayings of Morolf and Marcolfus, it is expedient to bestow a little inquiry upon those of his competitor: these have been already distributed under two heads, and classed either as Biblical proverbs (or such as are founded upon Biblical expressions), and miscellaneous gnomes derived from the observation of life and manners, but not found in the Canonical Scriptures. The sayings of Salomon, derived from the books of the Bible, are the following:—

## A.

4.—Prov. xxviii. 1. 5.—Prov. xii. 4. 8.—Prov. xiv. 1. 16.—Prov. xxvii. 2. 19.—Prov. xxv. 16 and 27. 24.—Prov. xxii. 6. 25.—Prov. xxix. 21. 42.—Prov. xxi. 13. 53.—Prov. vi. 6. Eccles. iii. 1. 60. and 77.—Prov. xv. 1. 61.—Prov. xxx. 25. 81.—Prov. xviii. 13. 92.—Prov. xiii. 24. 98.—Prov. x. 1. xv. 20.

Upon this calculation, out of one hundred of Salomon's sayings, we have but fifteen derived from his own books, as found in the Canon ; the wisdom of Salomon, and Ecclesiasticus furnishing none. It appears however that the Marcolfus puts a larger number of Biblical Proverbs into the mouth of the King than the Morolf ; no less than twenty-four out of eighty-seven being of this character.

## B.

5. A. 4.—6. A. 5.—7. A. 8.—13. A. 12. Job vi. 8. Galat. vi. 7. Prov. xxii. 8. Freidank. p. 5.—15. A. 16.—16. A. 19.—18. A. 21. Acts ix. 5.—19. A. 24.—20. A. 26.—26. Prov. xxii. 24.—33. A. 41.—34. A. 42.—35. Cant. Cant. iv. 6.—39. Mat. xii. 29.—40. Prov. x. 24.—41. Prov. xx. 4.—45. Prov. iii. 28.—49. Prov. xxvi. 5. 54. Eccles. v. 18.—60. A. 81.—69. Mat. xii. 34.—77. Prov. xvii. 7.—87. A. 53.

It is moreover expedient to note that many of the sayings of Salomon are coupled with different answers of Marcolf in the two versions. This takes place in one of two ways ; either Salomon is made to say the same thing in both versions, and Marcolf to give different answers altogether, or the answers are only transferred from one place to the other. The first of these cases comprehends the following examples :

A. 41. B. 33.—A. 43. B. 36.—A. 50. B. 57.—A. 53. B. 87.—A. 70. B. 51.—A. 72. B. 52.—A. 79. B. 67.—A. 82. B. 61.—A. 83. B. 63.—A. 86. B. 72.—A. 87. B. 73.

The second consists of one only, A. 15. B. 5. And even, as many of Salomon's sayings which correspond in A and B, are met by very different replies in these dialogues, so are

many of Marcolf's sayings which correspond in the two, replied to very different sayings of Salomon : the following are the examples in the two dialogues :

A. 9. B. 8.—A. 11. B. 11.—A. 37. B. 29.—A. 62. B. 59.—A. 66. B. 40.—A. 76. B. 65.—A. 89. B. 76.

When now we consider that out of one hundred German, and eighty-seven Latin sayings and replies, only fifty-two of Salomon's sayings correspond in both, and but thirty-one of Marcolf's replies ; moreover, that of these thirty-one replies, eight are made to sayings of Salomon, which differ in the two versions, leaving a complete coincidence in twenty-three cases only, and a difference in a hundred and sixty-four, we shall, I think, be justified in at once rejecting any immediate dependence of one version upon the other, and in concluding that they are altogether unconnected forms of one common and traditional material.

Before I quit the subject of the second Morolf and the Marcolfus, I will add the very few lines of Gregor Hayden's version, which are printed by Docen and Von der Hagen, from the proverbial portion of the poem.

S. Ein frumme frawe wolgethan  
ist ein ère irem man.

M. Einen hafèn milich vol  
sol man vor katzen luten wol.

S. Man sol die schamigen frawen  
lieb haben vnd geren schawen.

M. Der arme billich lieb hât  
ein kue, die mit kalbe stât.

S. Alle ding vnd creatur  
kumen wider zu ir ersten natur.

M. Ein ding ist je vnd je gewesen :  
es komen zusammen kot vnd besen.

Now of these three, which unhappily are all that I possess of Hayden's version, the first is alone found either in the

Morolf or the Marcolfus [A. 5. B. 6.] ; the second bears no resemblance to any thing in these two dialogues ; and the third but a most distant resemblance to A. 26, which is not found in Gartner's version at all. I conclude therefore, here again, that Von der Hagen was mistaken in assuming that version as the foundation of Hayden's. But the second Morolf and Hayden's translation are taken from the Latin, and that Latin is obviously not the text which we possess. What then, and whence, was this Latin version ? We can give no answer to this question.

The suggestion has been already ventured, that the Latin may have been taken from a German prose version of this favourite tale. Whether this be a fortunate conjecture or not, cannot be decided, till we obtain sight of one of the old German copies, which are now, I believe, of the utmost rarity. Even Von der Hagen, from whom I borrow much of what follows, seems never to have seen one of them, but takes his information from the scanty notices found in the books of others.

Panzer, in his *Annalen der älteren Deut. Lit.* pp. 168, 187, and 447, mentions three printed copies, two of which belong to the fifteenth century. The earlier of these, ornamented with woodcuts, was printed at Nürnberg, 1487, by Mark Ayrer ; and Panzer had himself a copy of it : *Bibl. Panzer. Pt. I. No. 833.* It bore the title, "Frag vnd Antwort Salomonis vnd Marcolfj." A second edition, with the title "Red vnd Widerred," was printed at Augsburg in 1490, by Schobsser. A third, probably with the first title, appeared at Nürnberg in 1520 : *vid. Bragur. 457. iii. 359.* Görres had seen a fourth, with the title "Frag vnd Antwort König Salomonis und Marcolphi," printed with woodcuts at Nürnberg by W. Newber, probably in 1560. It is likely that Agricola refers to one of these printed editions, when, in the preface to his collection of Proverbs, he says, "Es ist gerühmt Frey-

danck ; Ritter von Thurn, *Marcolphus*, die Sieben Meister," etc. And in fol. j. ii. of the "Sieben weisen in Grecia," (Frankfort. Egenolf, probably about 1530), is found the passage, "Sein [*Æsop's*] fabeln seint noch vorhanden, griechisch, teutsch vnd latein. Ein solcher kunstreicher abenteürer soll auch *Marcolphus* sein gewesen, zur zeit Salomonis ; von dem auch ein büchlin nit gar vngesaltzen vmbfleügt." Portions of these various editions have been printed by Eschenburg in Bragur. iii. 380-382, 392-394 ; and in his own Denkmäler, p. 146, and 172, 173 ; as also by Görres, "Ueber die Deutschen Volksbücher," pp. 189-191.

Leaving for a while Gartner's and the other German versions, it becomes expedient to notice such references to the legend as we find in Germany. Adolf Rosen von Kreutzheim, in the preface to his poem called *Esel-König*, printed in 1617, says thus :—

Allein vmb einiger ergetzung vnnnd Kurtzweil willen viel nützlicher zu lesen, als die ärgerlichen, schandbaren, vnd schädlichen bücher, vom Eulenspiegel, *Marcolpho*, Katzipori, Pfaffen von Kalenberg, vnd dergleichen, wie auch Schand vnd Schmachkarten welche mehr zu zerrittung dann zu ergetzlichkeit dienen.

At the same time that this passage abuses *Marcolf* and similar books, as dangerous and shameful, it bears testimony to their general dispersion. In *Von der Hagen's Narrenbuch*, there are some valuable additional notes, filling up lacunæ in the Introduction to the same legend contained in the "Deutsche Gedichte." Among the new matter contained in these notes are several allusions to the legend collected from German books : *Fischart* in his *Geschicht-klitterung*, *Ein und Ver Ritt*, bl. 5. 6, says,—

Ein Scheisshauss ist ein Scheisshauss wann man es schon wie ein Altar bawet, vnnnd ein Schatzkammer bleibt ein Schatzkammer, wann man sie schon vnder die Erd welbet. Es kan sich im *Marcolfischen Esopo* auch ein Salomo verbergen.



Again, bl. 8. a.

Da lass mich thun ein guten suff,  
*Marcolfe* sieh, der gilt dir druf.  
 Hehem das heiss ein guter tranck,  
 • Jetz bin ich gesund, vor war ich kranck.

Again, bl. 11. a.

O wie würd der Flegel-beschiltete *Marcolfus* so stolz mit seim *Rustinco Rustibaldo* werden ?

In c. iv. bl. 45. b. it appears as if a wine had been named after him.

Da war Ehrwein,—Kirschwein, Bastart, Brud' *Morolff*, Weichselwein, Trupffwein.

And again, c. 10. bl. 100. b.

Noch *Marckhulff* von wegen dess *Salomonischen Marcolphi*, (welcher Nam demselbigen *Marcolfdichter*, auch *Grell* in den Ohren gethan), Noch *Morolf* von wegen Bruder *Morolfs* dess *Holtzvogels* aber von wegen dess guten weins.

In c. 13. bl. 118. a.

Ist aber der Tag nicht weiss, so mus *Marcolfi* rechnung mit der Milch fälen, darüber *Salomon* fiel.

Again, c. 36. bl. 224. b.

Als er nun eins Morgens frü im Bett lag, vnd dichtet wie *Marcolfus*, bawet Schlösser in Spanien, vnd Städt in die Luft.

In the preface to the first part of the *Grillenvertreiber*, bl. 5. a. we have the following passage :—

Solches hat gnugsam verstanden der *Marcolfische Esopus* dann als er als ein Leibeygener, sampt zweien andern, auff dem Marck feyl gebotten.

Doctor Luther was well acquainted with *Marcolf's* story, and cited it to good effect at Leipzig in 1545. In the edition of his *Table-Talk* (Leipz. 1621.) bl. 409, a. it is said :—

Doctor Martinus Lutherus ist einmal zu Leipzig, Anno 1545, in einem Convivio gewesen, da hatte man ihm für geworfen einer hohen Person Fall vnd Ergerniss, vnd ihn damit sehr vexiret vnd geplagt. Da hat er zu Antwort geben : Ihr lieben Junkern von Leipzig, Ich, Philippus, vnd andere, wir haben viel schöner, nützlicher Bücher geschrieben, vnd euch lange genug das rothe Mündlein g'wiesen, da habt ihrs nicht gewolt. Nun lesst euch der N. in Aröch sehen, ihr habt das gute nicht wollen annehmen, so möget ihr nun das böse sehen. Und erzehlete darauff die Fabel vom *Marcolpho* vnd könig Salomon, vnd sprach : Es kam einmal Marcolphus beym König Salomo in Vgnade, also, dass er ihm seinen Hoff verboten hett, vnd sollt dem König nicht mehr für die Augen kommen. Nun gieng Marcolphus in ein Holtz oder Wald, vnd als es geschneyet hatte, vnd ein tieffer Schnee lag, da nahm er einen Fuss von einem wilden Thier in die Hand, vnd in die ander Hand ein Sieb, vnd kroch also mit den beyden Füßen, auch mit dem Sieb vnd Fuss, gleich als ein wild Thier im Schnee umbher, bis er zu einer Hölen kam, darein verkroch er sich. Als nu König Salomons Jäger im Schnee Wildpret auspüret, kam er auf die Spur, vnd sahe, dass so ein wunderlich Thier in dieselbige Höle gekrochen were. Derhalben eilet er an den Hoff, vnd zeiget solchs dem Könige an. Da war Salomon eilends auff, vnd mit seinen Jagdhunden für die Hölen, vnd wolt sehen, was für ein Wildpret drinnen were, da steckt Marcolphus im Loch. Als ihn nun der König hiess heraus kriechen, da deckt er den Arsch auff, vnd kroch also rucklings herauss. Da wurde das gantze Hofgesinde zornig auff Marcolphum, vnd sprach der König zu ihm : Du Schalk, warumb hastu mir diese Schalkheit gethan ? Da antwortete Marcolphus ; Ihr wollt mir nicht mehr unter Augen sehen, so müsst ihr mir in den Hintern sehen. Vnd sagte der Doctor darauff : Also gehets auch hier zu. Was an uns zu tadeln ist, das Klaubet ihr heraus, Aber was wir guts thun, das wollet ihr nicht haben.

In spite of the excellent application made thus by Luther, Stangwald in the preface to the edition of the Table-Talk (1591), bl. 2. b. says :—

Wie viel findet man deren wol, die lieber *Marcolphum*, Eulenspiegel, vnd dergleichen vnnütze Charten, lesen und lesen hören, denn diese *Colloquia Lutheri* ?

In the little treatise de Fide Concubinarum, which is ap-

pended to the *De generibus ebriosorum*, 1565, 12. bl. 13. a. (both which tracts are printed with some of the editions of Gartner's *Dicteria*, and added together with the *Marcolfus* to the 32mo. edition of the *Epist. Obsc. Viror.* already mentioned), we find :—

et vt impleantur Scripturæ *Marcolphi*, Auff einem vollen Bauch, steht ein frolich Haupt.

In Rollenhagen's *Froschmäuseler*, which, though written about 1566, was not printed till 1595, another reference to the story occurs :—

Wie auch Salomon's katz nicht wolt,  
das Liecht mehr halten wie sie solt  
sondern der Mauss nach sprang zuletzt  
die *Markolff* aus dem Ermel setzt.

(Ed. 1683. p. 102.)

A work of B. Rauscher, bearing date from 1652-65, notices the tale among others which seem at this time to have been very generally classed together. The title of this book is : "Zwey hundert Papistische Lügen, welche aller Narren-legend, als des Eulenspiegels, *Marcolphi*, des Pfaffen von Kalenberg, Fortunati, Rollwagens, etc. weit übertreffen."

In Hommel's *Litteratura Juris*, p. 163, a book with the following title is mentioned : "Salomo et Marcolphus Justiniano-Gregoriani. h. e. sapida et insipida, nimirum Theologica, Juridica, Paradoxa, Historica, Politica, Poetica, Musica, Prouerbia, Solæcismi Grammatici, etc. ex vtroque iure collecta, autore Δ. χ. Δ." Frankfort and Dresden, 1678. 8vo. Christian Rhebold is supposed to be the author of this book, which is probably a collection of absurdities to be found in the Civil and Canon Laws, or of absurd conclusions drawn from their provisions : a few specimens are given by Hommel.

It is unnecessary to cite more than a few lines of the German prose version still current, which may serve to show the

dependence of this upon the Latin already referred to, from which it is a bad translation, with many very coarse interpolations. There are various German reprints for the use of the curious. What follows is taken from a copy of the year 1670, in the University Library of Göttingen.

## FRAG UND ANTWORT

### DES KÖNIGES SALOMONIS UND MARCOLPHI.

1. *Salomon sprach.* Ich habe gehört, dass du gar kläffrig seyst und listig, wiewol du ein Bauer und schnöde bist, darum haben wir Rede miteinander, und ich will dich fragen, so solt du mir antworten.

*Marcolphus.* Der übel redet hebe an.

2. *Salomon sprach.* Magstu mir in allen Sachen antworten, so will ich dich mit grossen Ehren und Reichthum begaben.

*Marcolphus sprach.* Der Priester verheist die Gesundheit, der er keine Gewalt hat.

3. *Salomon sprach.* Ich habe weisslich gerichtet zwischen zweyen Weibern, die in einem Hause haben erdrückt ein Kind.

*Marcolphus.* Wo Gänse sind, da sind auch Bäche: Wo Frauen sind, da sind auch viel Mehre.

4. *Salomon sprach.* Got hat mir geben die Kunst, das keiner meines gleichen.

*Marcolphus.* Wer böse Nachbarn hat, der lobet sich selbst.

5. *Salomon sprach.* Der Ungerechte flihet, so man seinen Namen verfolget\*.

*Marcolphus.* Wenn die Ganss fleugt, so raget ihr der Arsch.

\* \* \* \* \*

84. *Da sprach Salomon.* Ich bin müde zu reden, ich will ruhen.

*Marcolphus.* Ich höre nicht auf mit reden.

84. *Salomon sprach.* Ich mag nimmer reden.

*Marcolphus.* So gib dich gefangen, und gib mir das, das du mir verheissen hast.

\* Properly *nemine*, but here misread *nomine*.

## FRENCH VERSIONS.

There are three distinct versions of this legend in French, two of which are of great antiquity, dating very nearly from the twelfth century, during which I assume the alteration to have taken place in the spirit of the dialogue. Two of these versions only are known to me: they are very different in spirit from one another, and from the German or Latin copies: while in all probability the third resembled these. They have no story, but consist merely of a dialogue in verse, in which alternately Salomon and Marcolf make assertions, and in which, generally speaking, a spirit of parody is found, as in the other versions of the same period.

The first of these is a collection of proverbial sayings under the title "Proverbes de Marcolf et de Salemon." It is found in a MS. of the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 1830. fol. 116. It is the production of Pierre, surnamed Mauclerc, Count of Bretagne, and was probably written between 1216 and 1220. It is entirely free from that pernicious ribaldry which characterizes the second French version. It has been printed entire by M. Crapelet in his "Proverbes et Dictons, etc.," and it is therefore necessary only to give a few verses as a specimen of the fifty-nine which complete the poem.

*Ci coumence de Marcolf et de Salemon que li quens de  
Bretagne fist.*

1. SEUR tote l'autre hennor  
est proesce la flor,  
ce dit Salemons ;  
Ge n'aim pas la valour  
dont l'en muert à doulor  
Marcolf li respont.

## SALOMON AND SATURN.

2. En cortoisie a paine,  
 mais bien fait qui la meine,  
 ce dit Salemons ;  
 Mais et jor et semaine,  
 travail est dure paine,  
 Marcoul li respont.
3. Por largement doner  
 puet-l'en enprès monter,  
 ce dit Salemons ;  
 De povreté user,  
 se fait-l'en fol clamer,  
 Marcol li respont.
4. Qui saiges hom sera,  
 jà trop ne parlera,  
 ce dit Salemons ;  
 Qui jà mot ne dira,  
 grant noise ne fera,  
 Marcol li respont.
- \* \* \*
57. Mort a la seignorie  
 sor tote riens en vie,  
 ce dit Salemons ;  
 Riens n'a si grant baillie,  
 a meins de cortoisie,  
 Marcol li respont.
58. Qui si haut l'apoia  
 grant poir li dona,  
 ce dit Salemons ;  
 Cil ne s'i oblia,  
 n'autre n'espargnera,  
 Marcol li respont.
59. Por ce het chascun mort,  
 que nus n'i a déport,  
 ce dit Salemons ;  
 Qui se sent vil et ort  
 de vouloir vivre a tort,  
 Marcol li respont.

Such is the Salomon and Marcolf of this learned nobleman, whose surname was owing to the opposition which he offered to an ambitious and licentious priesthood; and who, for his knowledge, deserved far more that of Beauclerc, given with no great reason to a nearly contemporary sovereign. It strikes one at once, although enough of opposition appears between Salomon's and Marcolf's sayings to render it fitting to compare them with the German versions, that the lively feeling of humour, the joyous parody which are found in the last-named forms of the story, are utterly wanting here. It does not very often happen that Marcolf's answer has any very close connexion with Salomon's assertion: probably very few of the gnomic sayings of either were popular proverbs; very few indeed can be considered proverbs at all: everything leads to the conclusion that the Count threw his own shrewd remarks upon life and manners into a form popular in his time, and consequently justifies the corollary that about 1216 the humorous version of Salomon and Marcolf's legend was already current in France. The author of this version has left a still larger collection, called *Les Proverbes au Quens de Bretagne*, which seem to deserve the title of proverbs just as little as the majority of those printed above: in spite of his attributing these sayings *au vilain*, it is certain that very few were ever at all popular among the lower classes, the depositaries of proverbs and quaint wise sayings in all periods when their betters think they mend themselves and their dependants by attending to nothing save a foreign literature. But in spite of the want of such national characteristics, the Salomon and Marcolf of Pierre Mauclerc is especially interesting: it shows the purer form of the French legend; and from its spirit and character, from the method of its versification, as well as from more direct and external evidence, I have no hesitation in asserting it to be older than the *second* version to which I now come.

There exists a most striking contrast between this and the German version : there is no story whatever ; scarcely any proverbs are quoted ; and the whole of Marcolf's answers are derived from the habits of depraved women : the dialogue stands by itself, without introduction or conclusion, and is utterly devoid of the wit and humour which are found in the German and Latin. The character of Marcolf, as a reviler of women, is worked out in this dialogue to the fullest extent ; but he wants all that real good sense which distinguishes the Morolf and Marcolfus, and which is clearly seen through the coarseness of their answers. The Marcol of this dialogue is really a japer, and jiber, a maker of parodies for parody sake ; his replies, generally speaking, do not affect his opponent's propositions in the slightest degree, and in many cases the answers might have been shuffled together, and dealt out as chance determined, without losing their correspondence to Salomon's sayings, were not their places ascertained by the rhyme. From this alone arose the character which was borne by Marcolf in England. Morolf and Marcolfus are really wise ; it will even admit of a doubt, whether Salomon himself is their match in either of the dialogues ; the popular feeling clearly has decided against him, for not only in the first contest does it crown Marcolf with victory, but in every subsequent trial he comes off with honour, and Salomon with defeat ; till at length, as in the first Morolf, the king is indebted to him for the recovery of his wife and the safety of his kingdom. The popular feeling took another turn with Marcol, and dubbed him deservedly *Marcol le foole*.

This poem is not uncommon in MS. The copies of whose existence I am myself aware are the following :—

1. *a.* MS. Bibl. Royale. Fonds de l'église. No. 2. 1. which I should ascribe to the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is imperfect at the end, but has the following rubrick :—



Ci commence de Salemon  
 et de Marcol son compaignon  
 si orrez la desputoison  
 quentrax font par quel occoison.

This dialogue consists of 35 propositions and answers, or of 210 lines.

2. *β*. MS. Bibl. Royale, No. 7218. From this, I believe, (for M. Meon says nothing about his MSS.) was taken a part at least of the long version published in the *Nouveau Recueil de Contes et Fabliaux*.
3. *γ*. MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19. This was written in England, about the beginning of the reign of Henry VI. and has the following epigraph:—"Veez cy une desputacoun entre Salamon ly saage, et Marcoulf le foole," and in addition the following running title, "Salamon þe wyse, and Marcolf þe more foole." In this there are but 27 propositions and replies, or 162 lines: nothing is however lost in the MS. The order of the various assertions differs entirely from that of the MS. No. 1.
4. There is a fourth MS. in the library at Geneva, which is mentioned in Senebier's catalogue under the title:—"Discours entre Marcoux et Salmon, sur le caractere des femmes des mauvaises vies et les dangers de leur frequentation." The third volume of Siner's catalogue mentions a fifth MS. in the library at Bern.
5. *δ*. A copy of this version, printed in black letter, is found in the British Museum. It has the following title:—"Les dictz de Salomon auecques les responces de Marcon fort ioyeuses." Beneath this title there is a woodcut. It has neither date, place, nor printer's name, but was undoubtedly printed before 1500. It consists of 4 leaves, 12°, with signatures to A. 111, and

contains 23 of the double stanzas. Of this there was another copy in a private library at Paris, from which a lithographic reprint was made in 1832 by M. Michel, but the edition consisted of no more than the perverse number of 15 copies. Another edition, previous to 1500, but undated, and consisting of 7 leaves, 16°, is cited by Brunet, and Ebert, under the title, “Dits de Salamon, et aussi ceux de Marcon, contenant plusieurs joyeusetés mises en rimes françois.”

I now proceed to give part of the text  $\gamma$ , as a fully sufficient specimen of this composition.

[ $\gamma$ .]

*Veez cy une desputacoun entre Salamon ly saage, et  
Marcoulf le foole.*

Salamon dit.

1. Mortalite et guerre  
sonnt exil de terre,  
et destruizement.

Marcoulf responnt.

2. De putayne sonnd maulx,  
et guerres mortaulx,  
et perils des gens.

Salamon dit\*.

3. Moult sceit de la muse  
qui veult faire escluse  
par retenir lois.

Marcoulf responnt.

4. Putains comunaulx,  
ne serfs naturaulx  
ne sonnt pas à croyre.

---

\* The MS. has faultily placed Salamon's saying No. 3. as the answer to this. The order in the MS. is, Sal. 2 and Sal. 3, as the answer. Marc. 3, as Salomon's saying, and Mar. 2, as the answer.

Salamon dit.

5. Qui en sa maysonn  
avance larron,  
domage cy rescoit.

Marcoulf responnt.

6. Qui putayne honneure,  
à la fin en pleure,  
quant il s'aperesoit.

Salamon dit.

7. Et la chenyllette  
mengue l'erbette,  
et la fueil de chol.

Marcoulf responnt.

8. La putayne se vest,  
et nourrist et pest,  
de l'avoir au fool.

Salamon dit.

9. Quant chevaux est neez,  
de voir le sauez  
qu'il a le cueil blanc.

Marcoulf responnt.

10. Quant home dit, tenez,  
putayne dit, venez,  
si seez en banc.

Salamon dit.

11. Moult fait menue ourne,  
et souuent se tourne,  
qui chace goupille.

Marcoulf responnt.

12. Maint pas fait en vaiqe,  
qui trace putaine  
quant elle gandille.

Salamon dit.

13. Qui langour ara,  
bien espletera,  
se vif en eschape.

Marcoulf responnt.

14. Qui putayne croira,  
ne lui demourra  
ne serrot, ne chape.

\* \* \*

Salamon dit.

43. Jetes en plunгон  
et verge et baston,  
et tant plus se moille.

Marcoulf responnt.

44. Donnez au putain  
et huy et demain,  
et tant plus s'ourgueille.

\* \* \*

Salamon dit.

53. Qui veult mesurer  
les goutes de la mer,  
moult est plain du rage.

Marcoulf responnt.

54. Qui tient en sa main  
la foy du putain,  
moult a mauvais gage.

It is quite impossible to place any limits to the length which this sort of contest might be carried to. The general relation which exists between the contents of the MSS. which I have consulted will be best explained by a tabular arrangement. There are in all seventy double stanzas:  $\alpha$  has 35.  $\beta$  68.  $\gamma$  27. and  $\delta$  22; but one in  $\gamma$  and one in  $\delta$  are all that are wanting in  $\beta$ . The result may be stated thus:—

$\gamma$ . 27.	$\alpha$ . 16.	$\beta$ . 26.	$\delta$ . 10.
	$\alpha$ . 19.	$\beta$ . 19.	$\delta$ . 5.
		$\beta$ . 23.	$\delta$ . 6.
			$\delta$ . 1.
$\gamma$ . 27.	$\alpha$ . 35.	$\beta$ . 68.	$\delta$ . 22.

and the manner in which the details correspond, thus :—

$\gamma$ .	$\alpha$ .	$\beta$ .	$\delta$ .	$\gamma$ .	$\alpha$ .	$\beta$ .	$\delta$ .	$\gamma$ .	$\alpha$ .	$\beta$ .	$\delta$ .
1.	—	1.	20.	47.	—	101.	—	—	—	7.	—
3.	1.	63.	—	49.	—	—	—	—	—	9.	—
5.	2.	59.	—	51.	—	27.	—	—	—	17.	—
7.	3.	65.	—	53.	—	129.	1.	—	—	19.	—
9.	4.	67.	—	—	7.	71.	—	—	—	23.	—
11.	5.	11.	22.	—	8.	75.	—	—	—	25.	23.
13.	6.	69.	4.	—	13.	81.	19.	—	—	29.	—
15.	32.	109.	—	—	15.	49.	—	—	—	31.	—
17.	9.	77.	11.	—	16.	55.	9.	—	—	33.	8.
19.	10.	13.	—	—	17.	85.	—	—	—	39.	—
21.	11.	79.	—	—	19.	15.	—	—	—	41.	—
23.	12.	93.	6.	—	20.	115.	—	—	—	43.	—
25.	14.	83.	—	—	21.	73.	16.	—	—	45.	—
27.	18.	87.	12.	—	22.	89.	15.	—	—	47.	—
29.	24.	103.	—	—	23.	117.	—	—	—	51.	—
31.	25.	105.	5.	—	26.	95.	—	—	—	61.	—
33.	—	35.	—	—	27.	119.	—	—	—	97.	—
35.	—	113.	—	—	28.	121.	—	—	—	99.	—
37.	—	53.	—	—	29.	123.	—	—	—	107.	7.
39.	—	3.	—	—	30.	125.	—	—	—	111.	—
41.	—	37.	—	—	33.	127.	—	—	—	133.	13.
43.	31.	21.	2.	—	34.	91.	3.	—	—	135.	18.
45.	—	57.	—	—	35.	5.	—	—	—	—	21.

A third version of the dialogue, probably from the Latin, was made by Jean Divery, of whom Duverdier says in his "*Bibliothèques Françaises*," "Jean Divery, medecin de Mante, natif de Hiencourt en Beauvoisin, a translaté en rime, le Dialogue de Salomon et de Marcolphus, avec les dits des Sept Sages, et autres philosophes de Grece ; imprimé à Paris, par Guillaume Eustace, 1509." What the character of this book was, I cannot say, though its being accompanied by the Dicts of the philosophers seems to vouch for its having been less profligate than the earlier version: in all probability it followed pretty accurately the Latin Dialogus, which we yet have, and which is so generally met with in the same company.

It was not to be imagined that Rabelais, who is King and Kayser throughout all the realms of parody, should be unacquainted with a composition, which was so popular in

Europe, about the time when he wrote : accordingly we find him quoting it, and in such a manner as to convince us that he nothing doubted every one's immediately understanding him. In Bk. i. ch. 33, he says :—

“ O ! dist Spadassin, par dieu voicy ung bon resveux ; mais allons nous cacher au coing de la cheminee : et la passons avec les dames nostre vie et nostre temps a enfler des perles, ou a filer comme Sardanapalus. *Qui ne s'aventure, n'ha cheval ny mule, ce dict Salomon. Qui trop, dist Echephron, s'aventure, perd cheval et mule, respondit Malcon. Baste, dist Picrochole, passons oultre\*.*” Edition of MM. Esmengard et Eloi Johanneau. 1823. vol. ii. p. 140. Or Urquhart's Translation, vol. i. p. 101.

The proverb itself is not found in any of the portions printed in this introduction ; but that it was common in France is probable from the first part of it being quoted by itself, and without remark, in Howel's “ Proverbes d'elite, et Dictons communs ou vieux Quolibets en la langue Françoise.” He gives it thus at p. 2 :—

Qui ne s'avanture n'a cheval ni mule.

And it is found in M. de Montluc's Comedie de Proverbes, Act ii. sc. 3. (p. 46) :—

*Lidias.* On dit bien vray, quand on dit qu'il ne faut pas vendre sa bonne fortune, et que jamais honteux n'eut belle amie, car qui ne s'aventure n'a ny cheval ny mule.

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\* The nonsense to which this passage has given rise, may be seen in the following note upon it, printed by the editors above named :—“ Le premier proverbe n'est point de Salomon,” dit l'abbé de Marsy. ‘ Pour ce Malcon, à qui on attribue ici le second proverbe, c'est un personnage supposé. Echéphron paie Spadassin en même monnoie, il lui rend proverbe pour proverbe, et citation pour citation.’ Rabelais aura formé le nom de *Malcon*, du Grec *μαλακός*, mou, effeminé, ou de *μαλκίω*, être contracté par le froid, être engourdi de froid, avoir les mains gourdes. Mais le nom de ce Malcon, qui est un personnage inconnu, pourroit bien être le nom altéré de *Malcolm*, roi d'Ecosse, au douzième siècle, ou celui de *Saint Malch*, célèbre solitaire du quatrième siècle, dont La Fontaine, dans un accès de repentir, mit la vie en vers françois, vie qui n'est connue de personne, tandis que tout le monde a lu et lira éternellement ses Contes.”

The general strictness of rhyme observed by the French, seems to make against the probability of there having been a poetical version from which these two proverbs are taken ; but I do not on that account assume that there ever was a French version in prose : it seems very natural that, the Dialogue being popular, Rabelais should have made use of the names of the interlocutors, without intending to quote anything really found in any existing copy.

In addition to the evidence afforded by the version of the Comte de Bretagne, of the early dispersion and popularity of the story in France, we have the following facts from an old history :—“ Arnold de Guines, who died 1220, was in the habit of hearing recitations of romances of chivalry, and similar works ; his biographer says of him :—

Ubi cum militibus et familiaribus ludicris et iocis, prout juvenilis exijebat ætas, indulsit ; unde et juvenes et coævos cum eo conversantes diligebat. Senes autem et decrepitos eo quod veterum eventuras et fabulas et historias ei narrarent, et moralitatis seria narrationi suæ continuarent, et annecterent, venerabatur et secum detinebat. Proinde militem quendam veteranum Robertum dictum Constantinensem, qui de *Romanis Imperatoribus*, et de *Carolomanno*, de *RoLando* et *Olivero* et de *Arthuro* Britanniae rege eum instruebat, et aures ejus demulcebat ; et Philippum de Monardinio, qui de terra *Ierosolymorum* et de obsidione *Antiochiæ* et de *Arabicis* et *Babilonicis*, et de *ultramaritarum partium* gestis ad aurium delectationem ei referebat ; et cognatum suum Waltherum de Clusa nominatum, qui de *Anglorum gestis* et fabulis, de *Gormundo* et *Isembardo*, de *Tristranno* et *Hisolda*, de *Merlino* et *Merchulfo*, et de *Ardentium* gestis et de prima *Ardeæ* constructione : eo quod ipse Arnoldus de Ghisnis, de cujus cognatione et familiaritate erat idem Waltherus, ab Ardensibus sicuti jam superius diximus, in parte originem traxit, diligenter edocebat, familiares sibi et domesticos secum retinebat, et libenter eos audiebat.”—*Lamberti Hist. Com. Ardensium et Guisnensium*, Bk. i. c. 96.

The same passage occurs in the *Histoire Généalogique des maisons de Guines, De Ardes, de Gand et de Coucy*, etc. By André du Chesne Tourangeau.

## TRACES OF THE STORY IN ENGLAND.

THE earliest forms of the story in this country are those which follow hereafter, as the proper subject of this book; they are at the same time the earliest forms which survive in Europe. Leaving them aside for the present, we may attend to what I believe is the sole remaining reference from the Saxon period. It is contained in a dialogue between the devil and a holy recluse of the Thebaid; and which, from its general bearing upon the subject-matter of these legends, I print at full length.—Cott. MS. Tib. A. iii. fol. 85, etc.

Hit gelamp hwylan æt suman cyrre þ̅ ān ancra gefing ānne deōfol þ̅urh Godes mihte, 7 he wæs se ancra on Ðebeigdan lande, swiðe lifes man hālig geworden þ̅urh Godes mihte. Ðā se ancra angan preāpian swiðe ðone deōfol, þ̅ him āsæde eal helle wites brōgan, and eac heofona rices fegernesse. Ðā cwæð se deōfol tō ðām acran ðūs: ðeah ðæt lengeste triðw ðe an middangearde is, 7 hit stōde ðonne on úfon ðām hēhstan stānclife, ðe an middangearde is hēgest, 7 mon ðonne gebunde ðæs monnes fýt tō úfanweardan ðam treðwe ðe wære ær āne niht an helle mid us, 7 him mon ðonne lete hangian þ̅ heāfod an ðūne niðer ðæt him sige þ̅ blōd on ælcere healde út þ̅urh ðane mûð 7 þ̅urh ða nōs-þyrle, 7 hine ðær óhtan ðonne ealle ða yfela 7 ealle ða brogan ðe æfre eorðwara fram ænginne gehýrdan secgan, 7 hine ealle sē-ýðan nióðan cnyssende wæron mid eallan sæbrōgan, ðe he forð brinð, ðonne wile se man eal lustlice æfre mā þolian, 7 ðeah he scure ðonne gyt þ̅usend wintra ðartó 7 ð þ̅usend ðe se dōmesdæg scel on geweorðan, wið ðan ðe he yft ne þ̅urfe næfre mā ða helle gesæcan. Ðā git cwæð se deōfol tō ðām hāligan lifes men, wā bið ðām mannum, ðe sculan habban heora eardungstōwe ón helle mid ús, ðær bið wóp bútan frófre, 7 ðær bið þ̅eówdóm bútan freowdóme, 7 unrotnes bútan gefean; ðær bið fúlmys bútan áwendednysse, 7 biternes bútan swētnesse, 7 ðær bið hungor 7 þ̅urst an helle suslum, 7 geómerung 7 þ̅oterung, 7 ðæt wyrste wyrmcyncg eal byrnende, 7 dracan kin ðe næfre ne sweortað; ðær bið sweffe fýr, sweet 7 unādwæscedlic, 7 ðær bið cèle 7 brene 7 brōga, áttor 7 ofergeþyld,



gránung 7 gnornung, wroht 7 wóp, mán 7 morðor, sár 7 susl ; 7 ðær nán man ne mæg óðran næfre gehilpan. Nis ðær cyniges weorðung ne ealdormannes werðnes ; ðær nán man ne mæg his wáldend gemunan mid nánum lofsange, for ðám sære ðe hiom ansittað. He cwæð ðá git se deófol tó ðám hálgan ancran ðús, 7 sæde tó him. Ðiós eorðe nære mid eallum hire wæstmum, ðæs ðe wæter on ne gesig, 7 ðeáh nære nâ mâre on hire bráðnesse seó eorðe ðonne seó bráde hel is, ðonne is se micela garsecg ðy ðás eorðan útan ymbligeð ormetlice micel, 7 nis eal ðiós eorðe be him ðe mâre ðe ân price bið, ðe bið on ánum weax-bryde gepriod. Ðá cwæð se deófol ðá git tó ðám ancran ðús : ðeáh mon ðane garsicg mid isenan wæalle útan betýne 7 hine man þám nyfelle fýres of heofones hrof, 7 hine mon ðonne útan besitte æall mid smiðbelgum, swá picce 7 hiora ælc óðrum anhríne, 7 sí ðonne tó éghwylcum belge man gesitted, 7 se hebbe Samsones strengðe, se ðe ealle Filisteisan þeóde ámyrde 7 hyra dūgeða áfelde, 7 he hæfde xii loccas se ilca Samson 7 on elcan locce wæs xii manna mægen, 7 mon ðonne gesette isern þel ofer ðæs fýres hrof, 7 7 sie eal mid mannum ðonne áfyllad, 7 hiora hebbe æghwylc hamor on handa, 7 hit ðonne anginne eal ætgidre brastligan, 7 ða hameras beátan 7 ðeáhhwæðer for eallum ðysan gedene ne mæg sió sáwle hí gerestan inne of ðám egesan ðe he sér geseh tó 7 heó ða yrmðe æfre mâ forgitan mage, áne helfe tid dæges, ðe sér wæs áne niht an helle. Ongitan we nú hú se deófol sæde tó ðám hálgan ancran hyllewite, swá he him eác sæde heofena rices wuldres wlite ; 7 he cūðe swiðe wel, 7 he mihte eáðe hit secgan, forðon he wæs hwílan scínende engel on heofenum rice, ac hine áweærp Dryhten of heofenum for his ofermettum, 7 ðonne móðigan feónd on helle wite, forðon he dyde hine efenheáhne Gode, 7 get hêgran wólde dón ; 7 he ðá forðan gewearð tó deófle áwend, 7 ealle his geferan, 7 eác ealle ða ðe æt his ræde wæron oððe æfter besawon, ealle hí wurdon of ðám engelicum hiwe tó deóflum áwende, 7 gefeóllon ða heom an helle diópnisse, besuncon ealle tó gædere ; 7 forðon is æghwylcum deófle swiðe cūð hwylc hit is on heofenum rice, mid Criste on ðære écan myrhðe : wel is ðám æfre tó worulde ðe on ðære stówe wunian mót ! And ðá cwæð se Deófol tó ðám ancran ðá git ðús ; ðeáh ðe sie sum smetegelden dún eal mid gim-mum ásett æt sunnan upgange on neorxna wonge, 7 sie ðonne oferhlifige ealle eorðan bráðnesse, 7 ðær sitte ðonne sum cynebearn an úfan ðære gyldenán dūne, 7 he sie eác an middan his fere fegernisse 7 his life, 7 he móte ðær sittan á oð ende his lifes, 7 he hæbbe ðonne

*Samoses wite* 7 *his wísdóm*, 7 him sie eal middangeard on gewæld geseald, mid eallum ðám welum 7 ðám weoruldgestreónum ðe heofen behweolfeð ábútan, 7 him *Saturnas dóhtor*, 7 ðeáh ðe him ealle streámas hunige fleówan, 7 him ðanne an eorðan næfre nêre érnig wiðerbresta on þisum life, ðeáh ðe him sæón ealle wynsumnesse 7 ealle swétnessa tó gehriordum forðgeborenne, 7 him ðonne sie singal sumor 7 lytel winter, 7 he ðonne sie lange tó life gescapen, bútan wrace 7 bútan sáre, 7 he ðonne ðeáhhwæðere ne mæg for sorgum ðæt he on eallum ðysumm wuldre wunige, gef he ér wære áne niht on heofonum, 7 eft ðider móte 7 sceáwigan ðar ðæs heofon-cyninges ansióne 7 ða wynsumnesse ðe on heofonum biðð. Ðá ðæt deófol ðis eal hæfde ásegd ðám háligan ancran, ðá forlæt he hine ; 7 se deófal gewát ðá tó helle tó his eardungstówe. Ac utan we nú, men ða leófestan, geearnigan intó góðan dédum ðæt we tó úran Dryhtne becuman mótan 7 him ðanne mid beón 7 mid wunigan, á bútan ende. In écnesse ðám Dryhtne sie symle wuldar 7 werdmened in ealra weorulda weoruld. Amen.

## TRANSLATION.

It befell once on some occasion that an anchorite captured a devil through the might of God, and this was an anchorite of the Thebaid, who had become a man of very holy life through the might of God. Then began the anchorite to urge the devil greatly, that he should tell him all the terror of hell-pains, and also the fairness of the kingdom of heaven. Then said the devil to the anchorite thus : Though there were the tallest tree that grows on earth, and though it stood upon the loftiest cliff that is highest in the world, and then ye should bind at its top the feet of a man who had been before that but one night in hell with us, and ye should then let his head hang down so that the blood gushed on all sides out of his mouth and nostrils ; and all the evils and the terrors which the inhabitants of earth have ever heard tell of from the beginning, were to persecute him ; and all the sea-waves were clashing beneath him, with all the terrors which the sea brings forth ; yet will the man continue to bear it all with pleasure, even though ye add thereto a thousand years, and that thousand in which the day of judgement shall be, on condition that he shall never visit hell again. Yet quoth the devil to the holy man :

Woe to them that shall have their dwelling-place with us in hell, where is weeping without comfort, slavery without freedom, sorrow without joy! There is foulness without change, bitterness without sweetness, and there are hunger and thirst in hell-pains, and mourning and lamentation, and the worst race of snakes all burning, and the race of dragons that never die: there is fire of sulphur, black and quenchless, and there is cold and burning heat, and terror, poison and impatience, groaning and yearning, revenge and weeping, crime and murder, sorrow and torment, and there may no man help other. There hath the king no dignity, the prince no worship; nor there can any man sing songs of praise in remembrance of his god, for the sorrow that oppresseth him. Yet quoth the devil to the holy anchoret thus, and said: Were the earth with all its extension, no greater than what is not covered with the sea, and were the earth of no greater breadth than the broad hell is, mighty as the ocean is that surrounds this earth, yet were it in comparison but as a dot which is pricked on a wax-tablet. Then yet spake the devil to the anchoret thus: Though one should enclose the ocean with an iron wall, all round about, and fill it with fire from the roof of heaven, and one should then surround it all with smiths' bellows, so thick that each one should touch the other, and to each bellows a man were set, who should have the strength of Sampson that destroyed the people of Filistia and slew their nobles, (and the same Sampson had twelve locks of hair, and in each lock was the strength of twelve men,) and one should set an iron floor over the roof of the fire, and that should all be filled with men, and each of them should have a hammer in his hand, and then altogether they should begin to crash and beat with their hammers, yet nevertheless for all this din could not the soul that had been but for one night in hell, rest within so far as to forget its misery but for one half hour of the day. Understand we now how the devil told the holy anchoret hell-pains, so he told him also the glorious beauty of heaven's kingdom; and well he knew it and easily might he tell it, for he was whilome a shining angel in the kingdom of heaven, but God expelled him from heaven for his presumption and [drove] the haughty fiend into hell-pain, because he made himself equal with God, and yet higher would have made himself; therefore was he changed into a devil with all his comrades, and all of them also who were at his council or who looked after it, they were turned from their angelic beauty into devils, and fell into the deepness of hell, plunged all together. And therefore

every devil well knows how it is in the kingdom of heaven, with Christ in the eternal joy; well for ever and ever is it with him who may dwell in that place! And then spake the devil to the anchoret yet thus: Although there were some hill of worked gold, all set with gems, at sunrise on paradise, and this should overhang the whole breadth of the earth, and on the golden hill should sit some royal child, in the midst of his fairness and his life, and there might sit till life was ended, and though he had *Sampson's* beauty and his wisdom, and the whole world were delivered into his power, with all the wealth and the treasures that heaven whelveth about, and to him *Saturn's* daughter. . . . and though for him all streams flowed honey, and no annoyance should ever befall him in his life on earth, though all things delicate and sweet were produced for his sustenance, though for him the summer were continued and the winter short, and he were to a long life destined without grief or pain, yet could he not [endure] for the sorrow which would dwell in all this glory\*, had he been before but for one night in heaven, and might thither again and see the face of the heavenly king and the happiness which is in heaven. When the devil had said all this to the holy anchoret, he dismissed him, and the devil departed to hell, his dwelling-place. But come now, dearest men, let us deserve by our good deeds that we may come to our Lord, and there be and dwell with him for ever and ever. To all eternity be for ever honour and worship to the Lord, world without end! Amen.

Now, in looking carefully at this passage, we see clearly that for "*Samsones* wlite and his wisdóm," we ought to read *Salomones*. Sampson's name slipped in from a previous passage, where he is mentioned in connexion with his proper attribute of strength: while Salomon is here, as constantly at this period, looked upon as the true representative of *beauty and wisdom*. It is also clear that some legend of *Saturn's daughter* is lost to us, from the passage in which those words occur being defective.

After the Anglo-Saxon period, the traces of the story in

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\* More probably, "ðeáhhwæðere ne mæg for sorgum on eallum ðysum wuldre wunigan;" he might not for sorrow dwell in all this glory.

England are very few: the earliest with which I am acquainted is the *Certamen Salomonis et Marcolfi*, already alluded to, and which has been with little probability attributed to Walter Mapes. The copy which immediately follows is found in the Harl. MS. No. 2851. I believe it also to be that alluded to by Dom Brial as existing in the Vatican. The reason for considering it as an English composition rests upon the fact that the MS. is filled with matters relating to England and Scotland.

*De certamine Salomonis et Marcolfi.*

1. *S.* Nemo potest colubri passus sine cede notare.  
*M.* Thaida nemo potest, nisi sit deprensa, probare.
2. *S.* Cum sequitur leporem testudo laborat inane.  
*M.* Thaida nosce parans fraudatur vespere, mane.
3. *S.* Pane canem jacto seducunt furta parantes.  
*M.* Blanditur Thais dum rebus privat amantes.
4. *S.* Plurima spe segetis cultor sapiens arat arva.  
*M.* Thais amat multos qui dant non munera parva.
5. *S.* Non pudor id prohibet capto, se stercore mergit.  
*M.* Effrons ad monachum Thais pro munere pergit.
6. *S.* Sus ceno tutius quam pulcra sede cubabit.  
*M.* Turpem plus pulcro, luci spe, Thais amabit.

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1. Here and throughout, the MS. reads Tais Taida, etc. 3. MS. seducit. 10. MS. haut. 13. MS. incesta.

5. Among the Germans, the coward was punished by being sunk in a marsh with hurdles thrown over him, Tac. M. G. xii. This became proverbial in the middle ages. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 695, quotes the two following passages:—

man sprichet wer von vorhten stirbet,  
daz der im selber daz erwirbet,  
daz man in sol in mel begraben. *Bon.* 32, 27.  
dann welcher stirbet gleich von schrecken,  
den soll man mit kukat bedecken. *Fischer, Flohhatz*, 36. a.

So the Italian Proverb, *Chi muor di paura, se sepellische de vesce*. Grüter, p. 136; and our own far more humorous but coarse saying, Ray, p. 21. There is a similar British proverb in Howell, p. 5. *Afo marw er ei fygwth à i faw y cymmuner*. Again, Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* 68. b.

7. *S.* Tempore quo fructus domino parit, arbor amatur.  
*M.* Dum pretium sperat cupidis Thais famulatur.
8. *S.* Mollit iter cuivis volucrum coetu comitante.  
*M.* Multiplicat census non uno Thais amante.
9. *S.* Est grave per speculum faciem pernoscere posse.  
*M.* Pergravius tamen est bene Thais intima nosse.
10. *S.* Haud cans confido qui vult omnes comitari.  
*M.* Quis Thaide fidet? Solet omnibus equiparari.
11. *S.* Quo magis effertur lampas, lux pejor habetur.  
*M.* Thaida si cures bene, velle minus patietur.
12. *S.* Cum moritur dominus asino servit minus ille.  
*M.* Cum perit unus amans patiuntur Thaida mille.
13. *S.* Non valet a furtis furem depellere mucro.  
*M.* Non vult incesto Thais desistere lucro.

The author follows the spirit of the French version throughout, for his Thais is merely a name for *meretrix*. On looking at these verses, which are hexametric couplets having final rhyme, it strikes one that Serlon's have the same peculiarity; and that this is the reason why the bishop adopted that form of verse; he ridiculed Robert for having made a commentary in rhyming Latin hexameters, in the style of Marcolf, that is, in the same measure as his original; and to ridicule him more completely, adopted the same measure himself. Nevertheless, had Robert's verses not contained a *serious* version or comment, there would have been little sense or wit in Serlon's satire; and therefore, as the *Certamen* may perhaps also be referred to the end of the twelfth, or at latest the beginning of the thirteenth century, I still conclude that

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9. It is one peculiarity of this in common with the French version, to whose influence I attribute it, that no popular proverbs, and nothing of the popular humour, are to be discerned in it: this solitary gnome of Salomon's is found in Freidank, p. 122.

nû sehet in spiegel tûsent stunt,  
 ir werdet in selben niemer kunt;

and besides the names, this shabby link is all this version has to connect it with the humorous German spirit!

about that period the subject was alternately treated as a serious composition, and as a parody, just as it happened to strike the imagination of individual writers: two centuries later, it could only have been treated seriously by a madman.

Next in point of time is a passage from Lydgate's poem of the "Horse, goose, and sheep," and is contained in a MS. of that composition, Bibl. Publ. Cantab. H. h. 4. 12. It is as follows:—

Ffals supplantyng, clymyng vp of folys  
vnto chayers of worldly dignite,  
lak of discreoun sett jobbards vpon stolys  
which hath destroyed many a commonte,  
*Marcolff* to sitt in *Salamonys* see,  
what folowith aftir, ne resoun ne iustice,  
vniust promocoun and parcialite,  
by fals prerogatyf ther neighburre to despise.

These lines, which are found in the author's own moral reflections upon his poem, are not in the printed edition by W. de Worde, of which a copy is preserved in the Bibl. Publ. A. b. 4. 34. The copy of the same by Caxton, Bibl. Publ. A. b. 5. 17. is imperfect at the end. The next is a passage from the opening of a poem in the Cott. MS. Nero. A. vi. and runs thus:—

The order of folys ful ghore begonne,  
newly professyd, encresith the couente;  
Bacus and Juno hath set abroch a tonne,  
brouth the braynys vnto exigente;  
*Marcolfe* theyer foundyr, patron, and presidente;  
noubre of thys frary iii score and iii;  
echone registered be grete avysement,  
endoyسد theyre patente that they shal neuer the.

Pynson printed a very close translation of the Dictz de Salamon et Marcon, under the following title:—"The saynges or prouerbes of King Salomon, with the answers of Marcolphus, translated out of frenche into englyshe. In-

printed at London, in flete strete by Rycharde Pynson," etc. This has a wood-cut of Salomon and of Marcolf, and is without date. (Dibdin, Typ. Ant. 2. 567. The only copy known was in Mr. Heber's sale.) The following stanzas are given by Dibdin :—

*Salomon.*

He that will mesure  
of the seas the water,  
is not very sage.

*Marcolphus.*

He that holdeth in his honde  
the faythe of an hoore as a goode bonde,  
he is full of rage.

*Salomon.*

Cast a stone at an ape  
or a staffe, if that he scape  
the more wyll he mowe and moyle.

*Marcolphus.*

Gyue to a hoore her askynge  
outher late or in the mornyng,  
the more she wyll you dispoyle.

*Salomon.*

A house that in euery cornere  
letteth in winde, sone burneth clere  
whan fyre there taketh.

*Marcolphus.*

A hoore that is gay  
is redy now and alway  
whan that she money seth.

*Salomon.*

Who so euer hath sycknesse  
is uery ioyfull I gesse  
whan he with lyfe doth scape.



*Marcolphus.*

He that a hoore byleueth  
nothyng with hym abydeth,  
nouthur mantell nor cape.

This English version appears to have been reprinted by Gerard Leeu at Antwerp (4° without date), under the title, "This is the Dyalogus or Comunyng betwixt the wyse king Salomon and Marcolphus."

Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, shows that he was not unacquainted with the legend: in the third part, sec. 2. mem. 6. subs. 3. he says, as a remedy against love of woman:—

Follow my counsell; see her undrest; see her, if it be possible, out of her attires; *furtivis nudatam coloribus*; it may be she is like Æsop's jay or Plinies cantharides; she will be loathsom, ridiculous, thou wilt not endure her sight: or suppose thou saw'st her sick, pale, in a consumption, on her death-bed, skin and bones, or now dead, *cujus erat gratissimus amplexus*, as Bernard saith, *erit horribilis aspectus*;

non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.

As a posie she smels sweet, is most fresh and faire one day, but dried up, withered, and stinks another. Beautifull Nireus, by that Homer so much admired, once dead, is more deformed than Thersites; and Salomon deceased, as ugly as *Marcolphus*: thy lovely mistress that was erst

charis charior ocellis,

dearer to thee than thine eyes, once sick or departed, is

vili vilior æstimata cæno,

worse than any dirt or dunghill. Her embraces were not so acceptable as now her looks be terrible: thou hadst better behold a Gorgon's head than Helenas carkass.

This awful passage is a convincing proof that Burton had read—and what had he not read—the Latin version of the story; for there is no evidence that he understood German, and the French copies have no description of Marcolf's ugliness.

In the First and Best part of Scogins Jestes, etc. 1626, many of Marcolf's devices are attributed to the hero: thus, p. 60, he escapes the hounds by letting loose a hare before them\*; but the final scene of Marcolf's knavery, with its consequences, is given entire to Scogin at p. 84.

*How Scogin came to the Court like a monstrous beast, and should have been hanged.*

Scogin was weary of Cambridge, and could not tell how to doe, because the King had commanded him to looke him no more in the face. At last he got him a Beares foot, and an Oxe foot, and tyed them vnder his feet, then he tooke a horse foot in one of his hands, and his other hand served for another foot, and Scogin lay about the Court, and on a certaine night there fell a snow. Scogin within halfe a mile of the Kings place, went with his aforesaid three feet, and his hand which serued for the fourth foot, and when hee had set a circuit, he went into an old house, where there was an ouen, and hee crept into it, and set out his arse. In the morning the trace of this monstrous beast was found, and well was he that might first come to the Court to tell the King what a monstrous beast this should bee, that the one foot was like a Beares foot, and the other like an Oxe foot, and the other foot like a horse foot, and the other like a mans hand. As soone as the King heard of this, he called his hunters to goe with him to find out the trace of this monstrous beast. And that found, there was a great yelping of hounds and blowing of hornes, and at last the hounds came to a bay. The King and the Lords pricked forth their geldings, and rode to the old house, and looked into the ouen, and [Scogin] set out his bare arse. What knaue is this, said the King? I sir, said Scogin, whom your [Grace] charged not to looke you in the face, wherefore I must needs turne mine arse to you. Well knaue, said the King, thou shalt bee hanged for this pranke doing. Scogin leapt out of the ouen, and pulled up his breech, and said; I desire your Grace, if I shall be hanged; let me chuse the tree I shall be hanged on. I am content, sayd the Kyng. Foure men were appointed to hang Scogin, Scogin had prouided a bottle of wine, and sucket, and marmalade, and greene ginger, and said to them that should hang him, Masters, the Kings

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\* Vide p. 28, Note.

Grace hath giuen me licence (as you know) to choose what manner of Tree I shall hang on, and in the Forrest of Windsor be goodly trees, and thither will I goe. Scogin went before them, and euer looked vpon many okes, and trees, and euer was eating of his sucket, and marmalade, and greene ginger, and dranke still on his bottle, saying, God knoweth the pangs of death are dry. When night was come, and the men being all day without meate and drinke, fainted, and said, Good Scogin, the night draweth on, and we have eaten no meat to day, and where we shall lye to night we cannot tell: chuse one tree or other to bee hanged on. O Masters, said Scogin, make no haste for my hanging, for it would grieve the best of you all to bee hanged. Scogin wandred about here and there untill it was a good while within night. Then said Scogin, here is a faire tree, let vs goe lye vnder it all night. The men said, we are so faint that we cannot tell what to doe. Well, said Scogin, you seeme to bee honest men, goe to your King, aud haue me commended to him, and tell him that I will neuer chuse a tree to be hanged on: and so fare you well. Hee is a mad man that may saue his owne life, and will kill himselfe.

It is probable that these stories of Scogin and Henry VIII. gave rise to those of James I. and Buchanan, whom the "Penny History" transforms from the Tutor into the Jester of the King. At the same time it must not be forgotten that these summary *hangings* neither belong to the periods nor the places in which they are supposed to be ordered, and that this point also goes to prove the antiquity and the foreign origin of the tradition.

## OTHER VERSIONS OF THE LEGEND.

IT now remains that I should say a few words respecting the more modern versions of the Salomon and Marcolf, and such as are found in other tongues besides German and French. It has been already seen, that before the year 1500 its popularity was such as to cause it to be several times printed in Latin, in German prose, and in French verse: but the stage also took hold of it as fair material, and towards the end of the fifteenth century Hans Folz wrote a farce on the subject, which was printed at Nürnberg, in 8vo, 1521, under the title, "Uon dem künig Salomon vnd Marckollfo, vnd einem narru, ein hübsch fastnachtspiel neu gemacht." Panzer, *Annal.* Pt. 2. p. 51. The far more famous Hans Sachs, however, composed a comedy, named, "Das Judicium Salomonis," in which Marcolf figures as a principal character, and repeats some of the tricks described in the "Dialogus;" more especially that by which he gets Salomon into disgrace with all the women of Jerusalem (2nd Mor. l. 1338, etc.), and which is, by the way, neither more nor less than the old Latin tale of Papirius, related by Aulus Gellius. A copy of this is found in the edition of Hans Sachs's works, published at Nürnberg, 1591, Bk. 2, pt. 1. fol. 16. b. The same author wrote also a farce, in which again Salomon and Marcolf are the principal personages, and which repeats some of the proverbs of the "Dialogus." This farce is found in the printed edition, Bk. 3. pt. 3. fol. 22. b.

To one or other of these dramatic pieces, or to a similar composition, reference is made in Melander's *Jocoseria*, Frankf. 1626, p. 813, in the following words:—

Annis abhinc ni fallor, decem, Casparus Crato quidam Marpurgensis, quem, quod *Marcolphi* aliquando personam in comœdia Salo-

monis,—magno cum applausu et approbatione omnium Hermanno Kirchnero, Poeta Cesareo, et I. V. D. clarissimo, amico meo summo, magnifice admodum et festive lusa actaque,—tum facie, tum moribus, tum gestibus, idque asino vectus, ad vivum expressisset, *Marcolphum* vulgo appellitabant, Magister creari a Professoribus ejus Academia anxie postulabat,\*" etc.

Whatever may have been its source, it appears that a version of the story was also current in Lowdutch. Nyerup found a copy of this in the Library at Copenhagen; it consisted of 16 leaves in 4to., without printer's name, place or date, and is given by him merely with the title, "Marcolphus myt synem wive;" but on the back of the title there stood, "Hie heuet sick an eyne To hope redhinghe des alderwysessten Koninges Salomonis vnde eynes Wanschapen geheten Marcolphus de doch klook was in sinen reden." Nyerup, giving an account of this in *Bragur*. iii. 358, 359, states that the same work had been printed in Danish in the year 1711, and frequently since. Nyerup appears however not to know whether there was any old Danish version or not.

A version in Danish, of the year 1699 (or at least the same version with another title), is mentioned by Hjelmstjerne, in his Catalogue, ii. 733, "Marcolfus, eller en lystig Samtale imellem kong Salomon ok Marcolfum." *Kiøb*. 1699.

But amongst Ayscough's MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 4857, fol. 89-96, is an Icelandic version, which, though itself modern, is probably copied from an old source. Its title is, "Lyfsaga Markolfs og Samtal þeirra Salomons Kongs ens

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\* A *Comædia Salomonis*, perhaps the same here alluded to, seems to have been known at this time in England also; at least, some such piece is mentioned by Sir T. More, in a MS. letter (Arund. 249, fol. 85. b.) to Holt, which begins thus:—

"Thomas Morus Johanni Holto, Salutem. Misimus ad te quæ volebas omnia, præter eas partes quas in comedia illa de Salomone ist, adjecimus: illas ad te modo non potui mittere, quippe quæ apud me non sunt. Dabo operam ut ebdomada proxima accipias et quicquid aliud ex meis rebus volueris," etc.

wijsa." It begins thus :—"A dagvum þeim er Salomon Kongr sat i hoisæte syns födr Davidz, fullur vitsku og vysdoms," etc., and winds up with, "Komst so Marcolfus vr höndum Salomons kongs ens vijsa, og reijstr sydan heim aptur," etc. The postscript follows, "Skrifad og endadt ai Skarde aff þorde Jonsyne. Anno 1670, þan 17, Dag. Januarij." A careful examination of this convinces me that it is a mere translation of the Latin ; almost the whole proverbial portion, and first dialogue between Salomon and Marcolf are omitted : the first two statements and answers are given, and correspond with the Latin ; the rest are at once disposed of, *as being too tedious for relation*. The whole passage is as follows :—

Hier eftur tok Kongr til orde seo seigiande, Sanlega merke eg ad þu ert klokur, og kauptugr, en þott þu siert im kauptugur samt skulum vid kijtast á ins kappmaulge, og skal eg setia þine so sem spurning, en þu skalltt aptur i mot answer gieffa. M. svarar. Sa a fyrstur ad byria sem vest quedur. K. svarar. Ef ad þu getur illum uppquodum mijnum giegnt og anead, þa mun eg gieffa þig völdugan man, og þu skallt vera hin nafnfrægaste i mijnu rijke. M. s. Oft lofar lækner heilzune, en hun er ecke i hins valde. Toku þeir K og M sijdan til ad rædast vid miauglenige, huad hier er oflangt up ad telia edur scriffa, etc.

From Mone's "Quellen und Forschungen," p. 241, I find that our story is by no means confined to the limits of the Teutonic languages ; he mentions a Slavonic version also ; his words are, "I know a Polish version, only through a few extracts in the following book : 'Vocabular z vozmaitych y potrzebnych sentency.' W. Krolewcu, 1602, 12mo. (Vocabulary of various beautiful and needful sentences, Königsberg.) Herein, at fol. 8, stands an extract from the *fliting* of Salomon and Marcolf : 'koniec wybrány z Salomoná.' (Extract from the Salomon.) In the Polish version Marcolf is called 'Marcholtow'," The slight comparison given by Mone proves very clearly that this Polish version coincides in con-

duct and in detail with our dialogues. From the transactions of the Cymorodorion, it also appears that there is a Welsh version, of what age I do not know. The title given at p. 201 of that book is as follows :—"Ymddyddan rhwng Selyv ab Davydd Brophwyd a Marcolphus." (Dialogue between Salomon, the son of David the Prophet, and Marcolphus.)

In Spanish I have not been able to find any traces of this story, which is the more remarkable, from the unmeasured wealth of proverbs which that language possesses. That Marcolf and Sancho stand in some degree as corresponding characters, has been already remarked; they are alike the foils to another and higher character, and they are the representatives of that rough wit which is found among the lower classes of a people, and the wisdom which is treasured in their proverbial sayings. The disposition of the Spanish peasants is perhaps more inclined to humour and practical wit, than that of any people in Europe; and it is hardly possible that some version or other of the Salomon and Marcolf should not have found its way among them. True it is, that the communication between Spain and the North of France, or Germany, which seem to have been the nursing-homes of the fable, was not very considerable; and at the Reformation, books published by Gartner and his associates were not likely to be popular in the Peninsula; yet, at an earlier period, Catalonia, as one high temple of the *Gaye science*, which certainly did not refuse to deal with matter of mirth, might have been looked to as a probable place for the preservation of such a composition. Be it as it may, there is no trace of the tale in any catalogue of the Spanish libraries that I have seen. In Italy, however, the case is far otherwise, and there the story, probably transplanted from the South of Germany, is continued through three generations, father, son and grandson.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Giulio Cesare Croce, called *della Lira*, composed in prose the life of

*Bertoldo*, for so is his Morolf named. This work was entitled :—"Le sottilissime astutie di Bertoldo doue si scorge un villano accorto e sagace, il quale, doppo varie strani accidenti a lui interuenuti, alla fine per il suo ingegno raro, & acuto vien fatto huomo di Corte, e Regio Consigliero. Opera nuoua di gratissimo gusto. Di Giulio Cesare dalla Croce. In Firenze, & in Pistoia, per il Fortunati. Con Licenza de' Superiori. *No date.*" To this he subsequently added a life of *Bertoldino*, Bertoldo's son. A further continuation was afterwards composed by Camillo Scaliggeri dalla Fratta, under the name of *Cacasenno*, Bertoldino's son. Of these, the *Bertoldo* alone has any very close connection with our story, a connection rendered even more apparent by the name *Marcolf*, borne by Bertoldo's wife; but the numerous coincidences between the Italian and German versions, prove beyond the possibility of doubt whence *Croce* obtained his materials. That the story, as delivered by him, should not agree in all respects with the German or Latin version, is not unnatural. But still it was clear that one of these was in fact the foundation of the Italian tale: this might be proved by many circumstances, but it may be enough to cite one passage from the Latin, which is reproduced nearly verbatim in the *Bertoldo*. It is that where Salomon visits *Marcolf* after the first dialogue, which I have printed in the earlier portion of the volume; the passage in the Latin runs thus:—

*Sal.* Vbi sunt tuus pater, et tua mater, tua soror, et tuus frater?

*Marc.* Pater meus facit in campo de vno damno duo damna: mater mea facit vicinæ suæ, quod ei amplius non faciet: frater autem meus extra domum sedens, quicquid invenit occidit: soror mea in cubiculo sedens, plorat risum annualem.

*Sal.* Quid illa significant?

*Marc.* Pater meus in campo suo est, et semitam per campum transeuntem occupare cupiens, spinas in semitam ponit: et homines venientes duas vias faciunt nociuas ex vna, et sic facit duo damna ex vna. Mater vero mea claudit oculos vicinæ suæ morientis, quod amplius ei non faciet. Frater autem meus extra domum sedens in



sole, et pelliculas ante tenens, pediculos omnes quos inuenit, occidit. Soror autem mea præterito anno quendam iuuenem adamauit, et inter ludicra, risus et molles tactus, et basia (quod tunc risit) modo prægnans plorat.

The Italian paraphrase is as follows :—

*Re.* Che cosa fa tuo padre, tua madre, tuo fratello?

*Bertoldo.* Mio padre d' vn danno ne fa dui : mia madre fà alla sua vicina quel che nō gli farà mai piu : mio fratello quanti ne troua, tanti ne amazza : e mia sorella piange di questo, ch' ella ha riso tutto quest' anno.

*R.* Dichiarami questo imbroglio.

*B.* Mio padre nel campo desiderando di chiuder vn sentiero, vi pone de i spini òde quei, che soleuano passare per detto sētiero, passano hor di quà, hor di là da i detti spini, a tale, che d' vn solo sētiero, che vi era, ne viene a fare dui. Mia madre serra gli occhi a vna sua vicina, che muore ; cosa che non gli fara mai più. Mio fratello stando al sole, ammazza quanti pedocchi troua nella camicia. Mia sorella tutto quest' año s' è dato trastullo con il suo innamorato, et hora piange nel letto i dolori del partq,

A still more singular fate, however, was reserved for this story, whose transmigrations were not to cease, till it became reproduced under the appalling title, and with the appalling length, of an *epic* poem, that is *epic—ολοι νιν βροτο ειςι.* The history of this curious occurrence is briefly this. About the beginning of the eighteenth century, Jose-Maria Crespi, surnamed the Spaniard, a painter of the school of Bologna and not without some reputation, painted the principal occurrences of the *Bertoldo*, and these were engraved on copper by Mattioli, for an edition of the original work. Instead of this, however, a number of the Italian literati determined upon producing a great *epic*, after Berni's pattern, for the purpose, it is said, of doing a service to Dalla Volpe, the publisher, who was personally connected with many of them. The poem was distributed into twenty cantos, six being dedicated to *Bertoldo*, eight to *Bertoldino*, and the remaining six to *Cacasenno*. Each canto had its own author ; to each canto another author

prefixed a metrical account of the contents ; a third poet appended to each allegories, or morals in prose ; while, to crown all, a fourth composed learned annotations upon the whole poem. Of the three-and-twenty persons thus engaged, all, save one Tuscan, were natives of Bologna, Ferrara, or Lombardy. This extraordinary book, much to the distress of the Academy *della Crusca*, was printed in 4to. at Bologna, in 1736. In 1740 and 1741, it again appeared, together with a translation made by some of the original authors, from the Tuscan into the Bolognese dialect, and accompanied by a glossary of Bolognese words : in like manner in 1747 it was translated into the Venetian dialect, and published with a Venetian glossary attached. So that not only as a popular story-book, under which form the *Bertoldo* in prose is still sold in Italy, but as a satirical *epic*, this story is spread from one end of the land to the other.

From these Italian versions, the story has been transplanted to modern Greece, retaining the names exactly as in Croce's book, from which the Romaic versions are literal translations. At what time this took place, it is unimportant to inquire ; the copies which I have seen are of late date (1804, 1832, etc.), but are reprints of older editions. The *Bertoldo* is thus entitled :—

Πανοῦργιαι ὑψηλόταται Μπερτόλδου, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας φανερῶνεται  
 ἕνας χωριάτης πανοῦργος, καὶ ὄξυνος, ὁ ὁποῖον, ὕστερα ἀπὸ διάφορα  
 παθήματα, διὰ τὸν πολὺν καὶ ὀξύτατόν τον νοῦν, γίνεται βυσιλικὸς  
 Ψύμβουλος. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἡ διαθηκὴ, τὰ γινώμικα, καὶ αἱ παροιμίαι τον  
 αὐτοῦ ποίημα χαριέστατον, συντεθὲν Ἰταλιστὶ παρα Ἰουλιου Καισαρος  
 δαλλα Krotze. εν βενετια, παρα Νικολαφ Γλυκει τῷ εἰς Ἰωαννινων.  
 1832.

This was followed by Bertoldino, *Μπερτολδινος*. A very clear proof that the Romaic version is a translation from the Italian, is furnished by the passage which corresponds to that already cited, and a very glaring blunder committed in the rendering. The Romaic version has :—

β. τί κάνει ὁ Πατήρ σου, ἡ Μήτηρ σου, ὁ Ἀδελφός σου, καὶ ἡ Ἀδελφή σου;

Μπ. ὁ Πατέρας μου ἀπὸ μίαν γυναῖκα κάνει δύο. κ.τ.λ. (p. 37.)

Here it is plain that the translator has mistaken the *danno* of the original for *donna*, and construed *d' un danno ne fa due*, by ἀπὸ μίαν γυναῖκα κάνει δύο.

I have now brought, with such limited materials as I possessed, my account of the history of Salomon and Marcolf to an end. Unhappily, a great proportion of the versions and copies mentioned are of the greatest rarity, and only to be met with in distant libraries. Yet enough appears to have been said, to show how extremely popular, and how widely spread this dialogue was among the nations of Europe, and therefore in some respects to justify the attempt to recall it to the notice of my fellow-labourers in the cause of antiquity, both at home and abroad. I have established such a chain of evidence, as to prove that under one form or other, either as a solemn, instructive and religious dialogue, or as a humorous and joyous parody, it has been found in almost every European land, and in almost every stage of our progressive civilization. Moreover, I desired to show that, in its latter character, it drew into its compass many of those proverbs which are the recorded experience and the traditional philosophy of every people. And lastly, I have attempted to establish the independence of the various versions, one of another, and hence the more readily to dispose my reader to contemplate the Anglo-Saxon forms of the legend, which form the text-book of this long introduction, and to prevent the feeling of strangeness and surprise at finding them so like, and yet at the same time so entirely different from, the Latin, German and Italian stories. I am myself hardly a fair judge how far I have succeeded in attaining these objects; but this I can honestly say, that I have spared no pains, and shrunk from no labour in the prosecution of my task: with the advantage of possessing all

that the knowledge which Von der Hagen and Mone, brought to bear upon the subject, had enabled them to collect, I have been fortunately in a situation to give a more complete account of the origin and dispersion of the tale, than is to be found in their remarks upon it ; and, were there no more than this, I should have looked upon such a result as a sufficient justification to myself for the time which I have occupied in my researches, and the labour bestowed upon the collection and arrangement of my materials.

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### TRADITIONAL CHARACTER AND PROVERBS OF SALOMON.

I HAVE already mentioned all the immediate references to the story which I have hitherto detected in England ; I do not doubt that there are others, which will be observed by those whose objects lead them to a close study of the middle period of our language and literature. With the exception of the quotation from Burton, all the passages seem to show acquaintance merely with the *French* version. But there is another class of passages which deserve notice, inasmuch as they teach us in what light the Protagonist in these dialogues is to be considered. During the middle ages, Salomon was far better known by his traditional reputation, drawn from the East, as the lord of all wisdom, the sovereign of the powers of the invisible world, and the builder of the temple, than by his more strictly Biblical character ; or, to speak more accurately, a traditional character, partly founded upon the Biblical history, was attributed to him. To say that a thing was the *work of Salomon*, was to express its

magnificence, and the great skill with which it was fabricated. The French poems abound in such passages, one or two of which may be cited here from M. Michel's notes to "Weland le forgeron," p. 80.

1. As estriés s'apuia *del øvre Salemon*. (Fierabras. MS. Bibl. Roy. Supp. Fr. 180. fol. 233. b.)
2. En mi la nef trovat un lit  
dont li peçun è li limun  
furent *al øvre Salemon*  
taillié's à or et à trifoire  
de cifres et de blances ivoire. (Mar. de France. 1. 62.)
3. Quant Godefrois li ber fu entrés el donjon  
qui estoit painturés *de l'œuvre Salemon*. (Chev. au Cygne. MS. Bibl. Roy. Sup. Fr. 640. 8. fol. 49. b.)
4. Li ðus ot un capel qui nert pas de coton ;  
entor avoit un cercle *de l'œuvre Salemon*. (*Ibid.* fol. 56. b.)
5. Et laça un vert elme *de l'œuvre Salemon*. (*Ibid.* fol. 182.)

As all good swords were the work of Weland, so were especially all great buildings the work of Salomon : Lydgate says :—

Where is now Daud, the most worthy kyng  
of Juda and Israel, most famous and notable ;  
and where is Salomon most sufferayn of cunningg,  
richest of byldyng, of tresour incomparable :  
fface of Absolon most fayre, most ameable ;  
reken up echone, ef trewth make no close,  
reken up Jonathas of frendshyp immutable :  
all stond on change like a midsomer rose.

(MS. Bibl. Publ. Hh. 4. 12. fol. 87.)

In an earlier page I have quoted from the first Morolf a passage, where the wisdom of Salomon and beauty of Absolon are coupled together. Chaucer's minor poems will supply another :—

The retour Tullius, gay of eloquence,  
and Ouide, that sheweth craft of love expres,  
with habaundance of Salomon's prudence,

and pulcritude of Absolon's fairenesse,  
 and I wer possessed with Job's gret richesse,  
 manly as Sampson my persone to avaunce,  
 yet shuld I submit me in your remembraunce.

Urry, p. 553.

To which last a complete parallel may be found in one of the Minnesingers. (Vol. 2. p. 233.)

Hæt ich des küniges Salomônes wisheit ganz,  
 and Absolônes schöne dâ bi sunder schrantz,  
 und gewalt des richen küniges Davides,  
 wære ich noch stärker danne sih was Samsôn,  
 künde ich vür bringen als Horant suezen dôn,  
 und wære gewaltig alles goltgesmides, etc.

W. Grimm. D. H. S. p. 331.

It was not to be supposed that the famous judgement, however sneered at in the German Marcolf, should not become a fertile source of traditions. There is an interesting instance of these in Barbazan's *Fabliaux et Contes*, vol. 2. p. 440, with the title, "Le jugement de Salomon." In this, two princes quarrel, after the death of their father, respecting the inheritance: Salomon, being appealed to, orders the father's corse to be fastened to an upright stake, and declares that he of the two who drives his spear furthest into the body, shall be right heir. The elder strikes home, but the younger, detesting the impiety, prefers losing all share in the inheritance, to mangling the corse: he is in consequence, by consent of all the barons, put in possession of the principality. The fact of the test of natural affection being resorted to, to solve the difficulty, no doubt caused this judgement to be attributed to Salomon; for in the *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. xlv. from which the subject was probably derived, there is no mention of him whatever, and the decision is made by *a certain wise knight*. It is also remarkable that, as in the first Morolf, Salomon is in this poem Emperor of Germany, and

the claimants are princes of Saxony, as appears from the opening lines :—

Doctriner doit les autres cui Diex science done :  
 au tens que Salemons porta primes corone  
 avint une aventure d'un prince de *Saissonne*,  
 c'on doit bien raconter, quar bel exemple done.

The most striking evidence, however, of Salomon's character is found in a book printed at Gouda, by Gerard Leeu, in 1481, with the title, "Lis Christi et Belial, judicialiter coram Salomone iudice . . . agitata, super spolio et violentia per eundem Christum in Inferno commissis." This was reprinted three years later, with the title, "Jacobi de Therramo compendium perbreve," etc, and has since frequently reappeared under various names.

It is probable that some collection of Proverbs, containing, among other things, a large selection from the Biblical Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, was current among our forefathers ; I imagine this to be the book so often cited in company with Cato, Tully, Plato and Seneca ; and that something of this nature is alluded to in the following lines of Beryn. (Urry, Chaucer, p. 616.)

For he can all langagis, Greek, Hebrew, and Latyne,  
 Caldey, Frenssh, and Lombard, yee know well fyne ;  
 and all maner that men in bokis write ;  
 in poyse, and philosophie, also he can endite :  
 civile and canoune, and all maner lawis ;  
 Seneca, and Sydrack, and *Salamon's sawys* ;  
 and the seven sciences, and eke law of armys,  
 experimentis, and pompery, and all maner charmys.

It is indeed possible that the Biblical books may alone be alluded to here, though, as I shall shortly show, it is by no means necessary. The author of that noble work, Piers Plowman's Vision, himself a clergyman well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, and deeply versed also in such moral

works as his contemporaries had to read, more than once quotes as Salomon's, sayings which will hardly be found in his works : thus (Crowley's 2nd Ed. fol. 13. a. Passus 3.)—

Salomon the sage  
a sermon he made,  
for [to] amend mayres,  
and men that kepe lawes,  
and tolde hem this teme  
that I tel thinke ;

*ignis deuorabit tabernacula eorum qui libenter accipiunt munera.*

The theme is no doubt a Biblical one, being found, not in Salomon, but in Job, xv. 34 : what makes it important to us is, that it serves to show how readily any wise saying was fathered upon him, at whom the countries marvelled for his songs, and proverbs, and parables, and interpretations.—Again, Piers Plowman, fol. 17. a.

Se what Salomon saith  
in Sapientie bokes,  
that he that geueth giftes  
the victory winneth,  
and most worship hath therwith  
as holy write telleth.

*honorem acquiret qui dat munera.*

Chaucer's tale of Melibæus is full of quotations from Salomon, though not always from the Canonical or even Apocryphal books, which go by his name : thus—

Salomon saieth, that right as moughthes in the shepes fleise anoieth the clothes, and the smale wormes the tre, right so anoieth sorrowe the herte of man. (Urry, 148.)

For Salomon saith ; there as thou maist not have audience ; enforce the not to speke. (148.)

For Salomon saieth : that right as the herte of a man deliteth in savoure that is sote, righte so the counsaile of trewe friendes yeveth swetenesse to the soule. (150.)

Salomon saith, take no counsaile of a fole : for he woll counsaile but after his owne lust and his affeccion. (150.)



Salomon saieth, that the wordes of a flatterer is a snare to catch innocentis. (151.)

For Salomon saith, ther n'is no privity there as reigneth drunkenesse. (151.)

And Salomon saieth : a very fole is he that of all hath drede. (152.)

For Salomon saieth, that the doctrine and witte of a man is knownen by pacience. (155.)

And the same Salomon saith, the angrie and wrothefull man maketh noises, and the pacient man attempreth, and stilleth them. (155.)

And this same Salomon saieth afterwarde : that by the sorrowfull visage of a manne, that is to saye, by the sorie and hevvy countenance of a manne, the fole correcteth and amendeth himselfe. (157.)

It is not at all impossible but that some of these sayings are formed upon proverbs in the books attributed to Salomon ; as the first, for instance, upon Ecclesiasticus, xix. 3 ; the third, upon xxxvii. 8 ; and even the last cited passage of Piers Plowman upon x. 19, as upon xi. 29, the following lines from the Coke's Prologue : (Urry, p. 34.)—

Wel seide Salomon in his language,  
ne bring not evry man into thyn hous ;  
for herbouring by night is perillouse.

Or again, as in Lydgate. (MS. Bibl. Publ. Hh. 4. 12. fol. 84. b.)—

Greitest of virtues is humilite  
as Salomon sayth, son of Sapience.

But to come more decisively to the point, there are proverbs quoted under the name of this prince which are not found in the Bible at all, and which bear no resemblance to anything found there : thus in Tristan, l. 1425. (Michel, Ed. 1. p. 72.)—

Salemon dit, que droicturiers  
que ses amis sont ses levriers.

Again, *Tristan*, l. 36. (Vol. i. p. 5.)

Sire, moult dit voir Salemon,  
qui de forches traient larron,  
jà pus ne l'amero[n]t nul jor.

which though very unbiblical is completely Teutonic, and of wide dispersion : in the *Castoiment*, etc. (*Barbazan*, 2. p. 49,) it occurs thus :—

Quar l'on sielt dire *en reprovier*,  
qui le pendu despendera,  
desur son col le fais cherra.

And in the same work (2. p. 73) :—

Quar qui le pendu despendra  
le fais desur son col cherra.

In the first volume and sixty-fifth page of *Barbazan's* work, it appears thus :—

Raembes de forches larron,  
quand il a fait sa mesprison,  
jamès jor ne vous amera.

This agrees in feeling and form with the Proverb as found in the *MS. C. C. C. fol. 255* :—

Larroun ne amera qi lui reynt de fourches.

In *Graff's Diutiska*, i. p. 323, there are a few poetical Old German Proverbs : among them,—

Wer von dem galgen loset den diep,  
dem wert er selten iêmer liep.

The same feeling, though not quite in the same words, is found in *Reinhart Fuchs*, l. 2157. (*Grimm*, Ed. p. 100.) :—

Ëz ist ouch noch alsô getân,  
swer hilfet ungetriuwem man  
daz er sîne nôt übrwindet,  
daz er doch an im vindet  
valschez ; des hân wir gnuoc gesehen,  
und muoz ouch dicke alsam geschehen.

Grüter, on the contrary, put it still more strongly, (p. 80, Prov. Alem.)—

Wer einen vom galgen erlöst, der henckt ihn zu lohn gern dran.

In the so-called Prouerbes of Lydgate I find (Ed. W. de Worde. Bibl. Publ. A. b. 4. 58.)—

Who saueth a thefe whan the rope is knet  
abovt his necke, as olde clerkes wryte,  
with some fals torne þe brybour wyll hym quyte.

To wind up all, Ray, p. 161, gives the proverb as an English one :—

Save a thief from the gallows, and he'll be the first shall cut  
your throat.

and adds, *Ital. Gall.*—

Dispiccha l'impicchato, che impicchera poi te.  
Ostez un vilain du gibet, il vous y mettra.

Meidinger, Dict. Compar. p. 581, Prov. Island, has—

Frelsathu thiofinn fra galganum, hann launar ther illu.

Adagia, etc. p. 11 :—

Save a thiefe from the gallowes, and he will helpe to hang  
thee.

And lastly, Massing. Virg. Mart. Act ii. sc. 3 :—

She saved us from the gallows, and only to keep one proverb  
from breaking his neck, we'll hang her.

In Howell's English Proverbs, p. 17, there is the following one, which bears upon the subject of these remarks :—

My friend, keep money in thy purse ; 't is one of Solomon's  
Proverbs, said one ; another answering that he thought 'twas  
not there ; if it be not, replied Kitt Lancaster, it should have  
been, for it is as good as any he hath.

In the *Morolf* as well as the *Marcolfus*, two proverbs are put into Salomon's mouth, which are elsewhere quoted as common proverbial sayings, and are nowise Biblical. The first is A. 57. B. 48. which stands thus in Howell's *British Proverbs*, p. 19 :—

Llawer ûn a ddwg newyn ag er hynny gwraig a fynn. Many one leads a hungry life, and yet must needs wed a wife.

The second is B. 79, which in the same collection, p. 31. is thus given :—

Pob llwybr mewn Ceunant, yr ûn Fordd a redant. Each path in a dingle, run one way to mingle.

Among other evidences of Salomon's traditional character, may be mentioned the Books of *Magic* current under his name in the fourteenth century, and which are founded upon the stories of his *seal*, so celebrated in the East. But this passed over even to the Alchymists; and the Rosicrucians, not less than the Freemasons of those ages, assisted in spreading the feeling. I shall notice but one more instance of this character attributed to Salomon. It is an early printed collection of Italian proverbs, with the following title :—*Opera nuova di Prouerbii di Salomone, sententiosi, e vtili ad ciascuna persona.*—*Nouamente stampata. 12mo, undated.* The following are extracts :—

1. Hor nota dolce socio  
se cerchi fugir locio  
cagion dalchun difetto
2. Pero farai concetto  
dusar lhumanitade  
cha hom prudente acade  
saper tenersi in freno
3. El corretto veneno  
non fa di molto danno  
talhora a seder stanno  
color che fan gran fatti

This volume was  
imperfect, when presented  
to the other copy.

It amounts pag. 113-176.)  
(of Gein's Bible.  
thek, Vol II,  
where the Angls.  
Larcon Text is  
reprinted <sup>on</sup> pages:  
354-368.)





